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Faculty of Humanities**

**Doctoral Dissertation**

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**- The Concept of FAMILY in Mandarin Chinese  
A Cognitive Linguistic Approach to the Comprehension of  
Chinese JIA**

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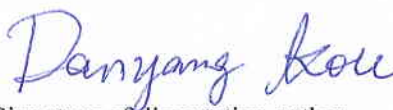
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## **Chapter One: The Concept of FAMILY and 家(Jiā) in Chinese**

### **1. The rationales for investigating the Chinese concept of FAMILY**

FAMILY is a very familiar concept in people's daily life, and establishing a family is usually considered to be an important social event in most cultures in the world. It is possible to observe from life experience that the family as an important social institution is an active, basic component of the modern society that is ubiquitously present in every culture on the planet. According to sociologists, the family can be defined as a more or less durable association of husband and wife with or without child or of a man or woman alone with children, which may include grandparents, relatives, in-laws, and grandchildren to form a household unit (Ogburn and Nimkoff 1947). Murdock (1949) regards the family as both a universal institution and a basic social unit characterized by common residence, economic cooperation, and reproduction. A family in his understanding is a social group of parents and children, in which adults of both sexes maintain a socially approved sexual relationship, and own or adopt one or more children to live under the same roof. Burgess and Locke (1953) see the family as a household constituted by a group of people that are united by ties of marriage, blood, or adoption. Within each single household, members interact and communicate with each other in their respective social roles, and create and maintain a common culture at the same time. These definitions of family not only share the view that the family is the most elementary social organization consisting of people related by bonds of blood, sexual or legal ties but also point out respectively the durability and the universality of family as a primary social institution as well as its close relationship with society and culture.

In general, the family as an intimate domestic group and the most basic social unit shares several common characteristics everywhere in human society, as have been described by famous sociologists Maciver and Page (1937) as follows: (1) The establishment of family has a precondition of mating relationship, which means that instinctive sexual needs of human beings urge for the formation of family; (2) Family is based on a form of marriage (monogamy, polygamy or group marriage or any other form) or other institutional arrangement to maintain the mating relationship; (3) Each family has a system of nomenclature with a mode of reckoning descent to identify itself and its members, and the descent is accordingly recognized through the father line, the mother line or both; (4) Every family has some economic provision to satisfy different economic needs of its members, especially the needs of raising children; (5) The members of a family share a common habitation, a home or a household to live together. These five characteristics seem to be universal and essential to the nature of family, and indicate both the family's biological constitution and its fundamental social role of being an economic and emotional basis for love, reproduction and parental care, which are closely connected with the functions of family in the society.

Usually seen as the nucleus of all social structure, the family definitely has a range of vital social functions that can be classified into different types in the views of sociologists. Maciver and Page (1937) classify the functions of family into two broad categories: essential and non-essential functions. Essential functions include stable satisfaction of sexual needs, production and rearing of children and provision of a home, while non-essential functions

include religious, educational, economic, recreational and health-related functions. It is believed that no institution can substitute family to fulfill these three essential functions as successfully as family. Ogburn and Nimkoff (1947) also claim that the family performs affectional, economic, recreational, protective, religious and educational functions. Within a family, the economic needs of its members such as food, clothing, housing and production are satisfied. Children are nurtured and educated with knowledge and skills. Religious routines are performed and passed down to the next generation. Family is also an important center for recreation and protection, where entertainment is provided, and the sick and disabled members are well taken care of. Murdock (1949) and Goode (1964) point out that the socialization functions of family achieve the acclimatization of the new generation by educating the children about various social values and norms through language, moral ideas and social behaviors of their family members. In addition, cultural traits can also be transmitted to succeeding generations within a family by observing those social customs and traditional rites which bear distinct cultural features.

Given its exceptional characteristic of being universal in any known society and its tremendous influence on the individual lives and the process of socialization, the institution of family remains at the center of social life in almost all societies and continues to be the smallest and the most enduring, resilient social unit despite the fact that families might take different forms, and they change and adapt themselves through time (Burgess and Locke 1953; Newman 2009). Moreover, various cultural customs usually result in endless varieties of family, with the range of its functions varying enormously as well (Maciver and Page 1937). Accordingly, a human society as a whole can be regarded as a conglomeration of individual families, and the investigation of family may reveal the social characters and cultural peculiarities of any given society. The research about the family in China thus provides a good opportunity to discover the unique Chinese social routines and cultural values. In fact, the family has been recognized as a key component of the Chinese civilization for a long time, and it is so important that “the term ‘familism’ has been coined to characterize Chinese social values and organization” (Eastman 1988: 15), with providing a positive contribution to the well-being of the family as the standard to judge the ideas or behaviors of the family members in a society based on familism (Kulp 1925; Eastman 1988). In Webster's New World College Dictionary (2014), familism is explained as a form of social structure, in which the needs of the family as a group are more important than those of any individual family member, but familism has long been regarded as a cultural way of valuing family that both highlights loyalty, trust and cooperative attitudes within the family group, and emphasizes an ideal for family relationships as being warm, close, and supportive (Keefe, Padilla and Carlos 1979; Sabogal et al. 1987). Consisting of social norms, personal attitudes and behaviors, familism in current times is not confined to descriptions about the features of the Chinese family but is considered to be a cultural, family-related construct that is prevalent in collectivist cultures and possible to reflect family primacy in Latino, African and Asian cultures (Fuligni, Tseng and Lam 1999; Schwartz et al. 2010).

In addition, the institution of family has proved its significance through its centrality in Chinese everyday life and its deep-rooted influence upon Chinese society as the strategic core of the social order (Kulp 1925; Cheng 1944), since many aspects of Chinese life have surrounded the Chinese family values of honoring one's parents, ancestors or family fame. Cheng (1944) further explains that even the social organization in China is more or less founded upon a large family system, which powerfully dominates the thoughts and actions of



the Chinese people by cultivating in their minds the sense of filial piety (strong respect and loyalty) towards parents, the respect for elders as well as the supreme importance of working for the honor and glory of the family name. The Chinese people also learn from this system the necessary elements such as cooperation, courtesy, patience and self-control to maintain family relationships, and thus they develop their family consciousness rather than national consciousness to focus more on their own family issues and show more initiatives to protect their ancestors' graveyards than to defend their country in critical times. Therefore, the family in China not only provides support, moral discipline and personal identity for its members but also contains the most important human relationships for individuals within and outside the realms of family, and consequently forms the foundations of all social organizations by extending family relations to human interactions in social life.

The reasons for the family's important status in China are both historical and cultural. According to Cheng (1944), the vital role played by the large family system in the organization of the Chinese nation started more than four thousand years ago, when the country was largely unexplored, and the practice of settled agriculture required the cooperation that could be achieved only through the standardized human relationships among family members. So it is no wonder that a high value was attached to the family to ensure the success of farming, which directly led to the hard survival of every family member in ancient China. Moreover, the family as an economic unit where the members produced and consumed in common had been dominant in Chinese society throughout the various dynasties in history. In political aspects, most of the Chinese kings, emperors and the nobles were hereditary rulers, so the political lives of the Chinese people were inextricably intertwined with familial relations during imperial times (Van Norden 2011). Furthermore, the Confucian thought has established the main political groundwork for the ruling class and the most influential belief system for two thousand years in China (Deng 2007). For the family, the widely applied moral obligation of filial piety particularly advocated by Confucius has penetrated the Chinese culture and contributed to the development of the large multi-generational families in traditional Chinese society (Chan 1969; Liu 2006; Van Norden 2011). Being a symbol of the Chinese culture, Confucius (551-479 B.C.) is usually regarded as a Chinese philosopher, educator, politician and the founder of the Confucian school during the Spring and Autumn Period. His moral and political philosophy known as Confucianism is both profound and modest, with a goal of constructing a moral, hierarchical structure for a good society based on a good government and harmonious human relations, which exerts a far-reaching impact on the Chinese political, social and cultural lives (Chan 1969; Liu 2006; Deng 2007).

In Confucian thinking, people develop integrity and learn to be kind to others from their families, and the familial hierarchy corresponds to the Confucian moral/social hierarchy, with the moral duties of husband and wife, parent and child, and sibling relationships clearly defined by their respective social roles (Liu 2006). For example, a husband/father has duties to support the family and show his authority and love to his wife and children, while his wife has duties to manage household affairs and show respect, love and obedience in return. Children have the duty to fulfill filial piety toward their parents, and siblings have the duties to love each other and respect or obey the elder ones. Interactions between family members display a vertical, unequal relationship between an authority figure and a dependent subordinate in varying degrees (Eastman 1988). Such pattern of human relationships further extends to social life where the seniors are respected and the young are loved and cared, or to

political situations where the obedient relationship advocated by Confucius is again observed between the ruled and the ruler due to the reason that the political hierarchy corresponds to the familial hierarchy with the ruler at the top and the ruled at the bottom (Liu 2006; Van Norden 2011). Therefore, China is viewed as a status-oriented society with a hierarchical structure in which each individual holds a clearly defined position, and the Chinese people's responses to social interactions are deeply affected by the socialization process within the family. The contents of human relationships outside the family remain fundamentally the same as those maintained inside the family, so the Chinese people are acutely sensitive to the issue of status in the social hierarchy, and repeat the pattern of superior-subordinate or authority-dependency relationships in their social interactions (Eastman 1988).

What needs to be more emphasized is the fact that social institutions and human behavioral traits change over the course of time, and China has changed more in the twentieth century than in any period of the history (Chan 1969; Eastman 1988). The three thousand years of monarchic system has been terminated, and gender equality has been introduced as a new ideology since the foundation of the People's Republic of China in 1949. Domestic reforms have been implemented to launch modern education, boost economic growth and pave the way to national prosperity and modernization. The past four decades after the introduction of the reform and open-up policy have witnessed China's rising importance in the international world and the rapid shifting in the Chinese people's attitudes towards traditional culture, history and social identity due to China's unprecedented, tremendous development in economy and communication technologies. Within the contemporary social environment of pluralism and contention, the Chinese cultural traditions, Confucius canons, religion and history are all undergoing a process of reinvention or reinterpretation to meet new needs in order to adapt to the new social landscapes where the building of identity is mediated between competing social, official and commercial interests (Zang 2011; Dryburgh 2011). In the domain of family, profound changes can also be detected, since traditional Confucian family roles are not as strictly adhered to as before, and individuals are not defined by traditional family net or kinship relations but are gaining more weight in society as an important and independent social category nowadays (Yan 2009). Zang (2011) also indicates that the social transformation has definitely brought drastic changes to the family structure, family size, partner choices, marriage, and even caused marriage breakdowns as a result of the impact of industrialization, urbanization, the influences of the West and the political campaigns and legal reforms carried out by the Chinese Communist Party. However, the family is still considered as a fundamental social unit in Chinese society, upon which the Chinese people still rely heavily in order to satisfy their basic human needs. Hence the family continues to be a main research subject in Chinese studies that deserves a thorough investigation.

Being aware of the significant role the family plays in the Chinese culture and society, the present linguistic research focuses on the exploration of the Chinese concept of FAMILY from the cognitive linguistic approach, with the primary aim of discovering the figurative conceptualizations of FAMILY in modern Mandarin Chinese. It is intended to discuss how the concept of FAMILY is constructed and comprehended through metaphors (and metonymies), and reveal the effects of the Chinese social customs and cultural values upon the Chinese people's metaphorical understanding of the concept.

## 2. The Chinese character 家(jiā) as the key research word

In terms of its origin, the Chinese language family belongs to the Sino-Tibetan language family, whose earliest written records can be traced back to the old inscriptions on bones or tortoise shells of the Shang Dynasty (the 16th-11th century B.C.). The Chinese language family can be divided into seven major dialect families and each of them consists of other dialects (Sun 2006; Lin 2007). As the target language of the present research, modern Mandarin Chinese is the standard official language of China used in school education and official occasions. It is also seen as a dialect that is “spoken by more than 70 percent of Chinese speakers in the northern and southwest regions of China”, and “can be further divided into four subfamilies” of dialects (Lin 2007: 1). Despite the great number of dialects, all varieties of the Chinese language share the same written system that facilitates not only the persistence of the Chinese tradition but also the political, economic and cultural unity of the country for a long time (Lin 2007).

The Chinese written system is currently made of over 56,000 Chinese characters that originate from visual signs, and have their hieroglyphical shape evolved over the long history into a system of abstract symbols to convey meanings with their present look (Chen 1999; Lin 2007). Chinese writing as a “logographic system of morpheme-syllable representation” has been in continuous use for over three millennia, with “each grapheme (or character) simultaneously encoding sounds and meaning at the level of the syllable”, and “has been used for communication and served various political purposes in China” (Sun 2006: 101-102). As the only ancient ideographical language that has never been abandoned because of foreign invasions in history, the Chinese language has been regarded as the root of the traditional Chinese culture, and the essential cultural values have been passed down through generations of the Chinese people till the present time. The form and the meaning of each Chinese character have kept in storage the rich cultural information that depicts the history of China and the development of the Chinese civilization.

In English, the word *family* is explained in English dictionaries as the social unit of two or more persons related by blood, marriage, adoption or co-residence and having a shared commitment to the mutual relationship.<sup>1</sup> Deriving from the Latin word *familia*, the word *family* also refers to the household members, family clans and the ancestry of a family. The original Latin connotations of *familia* almost equate family with the household as a whole and perhaps people living elsewhere, and thus produce a surprisingly close analogue for the most important unit of Chinese kinship—the *jiā* (Hinsch 2011), since *jiā* is conventionally defined in Chinese as the unit composed of people related by blood, marriage, or adoption who share common property and budget (Eastman 1988; Ebrey 2003; Hinsch 2011). The Chinese definition of the family does not differ from that in English, but the Chinese character 家(jiā) has actually twelve major meanings and usages in *Modern Chinese Dictionary* (2003): 1) family; household; 2) the dwelling place of a family; home 3) family or people engaged in a certain trade; 4) people who are specialists or experts in a certain field with specialized knowledge or abundant practical experiences or people engaged in specialized activities; 5) schools of academic thought; 6) refers to one opposite side among

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<sup>1</sup> The definition of family in English is a summary of the explanations of family in two on-line Oxford English dictionaries, and the meanings of the English word family are also from the explanations of the English dictionaries. See detailed information on web pages: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/family> and <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/family>

all parties (involved in an event or comparison); 7) a self-depreciatory expression used to refer to one's own elder relatives in front of other people; 8) domestic (opposite to wild); 9) classifier; measure word; 10) add after a noun as a suffix to indicate that certain people belong to one category; 11) added after a man's name or his seniority among brothers and sisters to refer to his wife in local dialect; 12) a surname in China. Even though blood ties, intimate human relationships and shared common residence are acknowledged as the key elements in the definition of family in both English and Chinese, the extended usage of 家(jiā) is worthy of further discussion to see how its various meanings are constructed. To start with, it is necessary to explore the creation of the character 家(jiā) in order to get a glimpse of how 家(jiā) became the linguistic symbol of the concept of FAMILY in ancient times.

Since its first appearance on the bones or tortoise shells of the Shang Dynasty, the character 家(jiā) has undergone several rounds of changes in its form and written pattern. According to the first Chinese dictionary *Origin of Chinese Characters* compiled by a famous scholar Shen Xu in the Han dynasty (206 B.C.- 220 A.D.), the formation of the character 家(jiā) reveals its initial meaning of “the living place”, which equals to the meaning of the English word *house*. The upper part of 家(jiā) is 宀(mián), a pictographic symbol for simulating the shape of a man-made house roof. The lower part of 家(jiā) is 豕(shǐ), a character that means “male pig”. The Chinese scholars of Chinese paleography have not reached an unanimous agreement about the reason why the character 家(jiā) was created originally with the formation of a male pig in a house rather than a person in a house. However, most of them have agreed with the opinion that the formation of the character 家(jiā) somehow verifies the origin and the early development of agriculture and stockbreeding in the primitive Chinese society seven or eight thousand years ago when the ancient Chinese people started to leave the natural caves and take up their permanent residence in man-made houses. At that time, the farm lands provided grains and domestic animals were kept to supplement the food supply, among which pigs ranked the first both as the staple meat production and the symbol of private wealth (Wu 2002; Qian 2008). Hence the character 家(jiā) was possibly created to indicate the living places of the ancient Chinese households due to their history of sharing the same house with their domesticated pigs.

Moreover, private ownership started to emerge after the paternal society had taken the place of the matriarchal society in the ancient China. Men started to occupy a dominant position, and the criterion of female behaviors that had been regulated by the mode of collective consciousness of the male-dominated society forced women to accept an unfavorable and inferior status in social and family life. As a result, women and their children became the private property of their husbands. On the other hand, domesticated pigs had turned into such an important type of private property for commodity exchange, religious sacrifice and funerary objects in the paternal society that the dominant power of the male pigs was seen as the symbol of a husband's control over his family, which led to the assumption that the Chinese people might even begin to refer to the leading husband of a household as a powerful male pig (Huang 1994; Bai 2003). The “home” meaning of 家(jiā) had been developed because the living place of a household was also the home for every family member to return to. Given the physical shape of the character 家(jiā), a home is thus consisted of a house with a roof (宀 mián) and a controlling husband represented by the symbol of a male pig (豕 shǐ), which may record the metaphorical understanding of a leading person as a dominant domesticated animal in ancient China.

Furthermore, the establishment of the paternal society stabilized the relation between

husband and wife and cleared up the blood ties within a household, since monogamous marriage had become a social custom, and the wife was not allowed to have sexual relations with other men except her husband. Only those people who were related by blood and marriage lived together under the same roof, so the character 家(jiā) developed the “family” meaning to highlight the blood kinship and close human relations (Qian 2008). Actually, the meaning of “the living place” was downplayed when the meaning of “family” was activated, and people who lived together with their human relations deriving from marriage and the bonds of kinship were able to obtain a sense of identity in a family community. A family could gradually grow bigger into a family clan, and a family clan could evolve into a huge regional community of economy and interest which laid the foundation for the establishment of kingdoms in ancient China. In order to avoid the confusion of the blood relations, a whole set of courtesies was generated later to restrict the friendship between men and women, and the traditional family ethics had been strictly abided by in the feudal Chinese society (Tan 1999; Qian 2008; Feng 2011). What’s more, both the traditional family values and the traditional family ethic system are still visible nowadays because they have been, by and large, embedded in the Chinese culture.

Having multiple meanings in a single character, 家(jiā) has indeed been the linguistic expression for the concept of FAMILY in China as demonstrated above, so it is justifiable to choose 家(jiā) as the key word for the present research. More detailed discussions are presented in latter chapters to analyze the meaning and usage of 家(jiā), with the intention of obtaining more useful discoveries about the Chinese conception of FAMILY.

### **3. The scope of the research about FAMILY in modern Mandarin Chinese**

The form and the structure of the character 家(jiā) have demonstrated that the Chinese characters are born from images, and the invention of the Chinese characters to lexicalize meanings involves conceptual procedures of “looking at things and seeking images through analogy” and “looking at images and contemplating and grasping meaning” (Jia 2008: 34). Therefore, the significant role of figurative thinking in the creation of the Chinese written language has been proved. Moreover, scholars have shown that the understanding of the metaphors and images deployed in the early Chinese philosophical texts is of great importance to grasp their main arguments and concepts, because metaphor seems to be the most fundamental Chinese way to perceive and reason about their interactions with the world (Oshima 1983; Hall and Ames 1987; Slingerland 2003, 2004a, 2004b, 2011; Reding 2004; Jia 2008; Mattice 2014). Various academic studies have also proved that figurative thinking underlies the Chinese language and thought, and even the core values of the Chinese culture are expressed persuasively through metaphors and metonymies (see Yu 1998, 2008a, 2008b, 2009a; Zhang, Speelman and Geeraerts 2011, 2015).

Based on former research results, the working hypotheses of the present linguistic research about FAMILY are: 1) The concept of FAMILY is conceptualized through metaphors (and metonymies) in Chinese, and 2) some of the conceptual metaphors (and metonymies) in Chinese used in the early twenty-first century for the concept of FAMILY are different from the conceptual metaphors (and metonymies) used previously in the twentieth century. Scholars have discovered that the Chinese language has numerous conventional expressions with underlying conceptual metaphors and metonymies, and a great deal of metaphorical domains are shared by Chinese and English speakers to make sense of the abstract concepts such as

LOVE, HAPPINESS, ANGER, TIME and so on (Yu 1995, 2003a, 2003b, 2009b, 2012; Zhao 2000; Sun 2006; Zhai 2008; Kövecses 2005, 2006, 2010a). Besides, complex concepts like SOCIETY, NATION, STATE, COMPANY, ORGANIZATIONS are largely understood through metaphors and metonymies (Lakoff 1996; Musolff 2004; Kövecses 2005, 2006, 2010a; Kou and Farkas 2014), and FAMILY as a complex, socio-cultural concept is also interpreted figuratively in the Chinese language (Feng 2011; Zhou 2011; Ye 2012). However, a comprehensive, corpus-based study about FAMILY in Chinese is still missing, so the present research is conducted with authentic linguistic data from a national, authorized Chinese language corpus to present a comparatively comprehensive investigation of FAMILY, and the research also aims to discover possible changes in the Chinese people's conception of FAMILY due to the dramatic social reforms in modern China. It is believed that the creation and the understanding of metaphor and metonymy are context-dependent (Gibbs 1989, 1996b; Cameron 2006; Tendahl and Gibbs, 2008; Yu 2009b, 2016; Kövecses 2012, 2015), so changes in context usually lead to changes in bodily experience and cultural experience that affect the emergence and the comprehension of metaphor and metonymy. The rapid economic growth and the process of modernization and globalization in the past four decades have definitely brought profound changes to nearly every aspect of Chinese society which may contribute to the constitution of the context where the FAMILY concept is used. These contextual changes might give rise to the phenomena that some of the metaphors and metonymies of FAMILY used at the present time are different from those used in China in the last century.

Within the theoretical framework of cognitive linguistic theories of metaphor and metonymy, the major concern of the present research is to identify and analyze all metaphors and metonymies applied by the Chinese people to understand FAMILY in a Chinese language corpus in order to provide a comparatively full picture of the figurative conceptualizations of FAMILY in modern Mandarin Chinese. The research is primarily corpus-based, but research goals are achieved by utilizing other supplementary research methods to collect linguistic materials that cannot be obtained from the official Chinese language corpus used in the research. By entering the key word 家(jiā), research findings drawn from the corpus results generally fall into three sections: the Chinese compounds with the character 家(jiā) in which figurative conceptualizations of FAMILY can be detected, a collection of source domains for conceptualizing FAMILY metaphorically and a variety of abstract concepts interpreted through the concept of FAMILY. An individual chapter is assigned to each section to discuss research discoveries in detail, and the Chinese linguistic examples cited for research analyses are all presented in simplified Chinese characters of Mandarin Chinese and occasionally transcribed with the *pinyin* system<sup>2</sup> of phonetic romanization for easier reading when it is necessary.

This dissertation consists of ten chapters. Following the first introductory chapter where the research topic and the research word 家(jiā) are introduced, the second chapter presents the literature review of the previous research about family. Due to the limited number of published cognitive linguistic research about the concept of FAMILY in Chinese, the sociological discoveries of the family in China are first presented as the background information to describe the key Chinese family values, the forms and functions of the family in Chinese society as well as the development of the family institution in the Chinese history

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<sup>2</sup> The Chinese *pinyin* system is used for the pronunciation of Chinese characters. According to Lin (2007: 7), the Chinese *pinyin* system is “a standard transcription system of Chinese words” that “has been taught in school in China”, and it is both “the most popular romanization system taught in school outside China”, and is “used as the input system in Chinese word processing on computers”. See Sun (2006) and Lin (2007) for more information about Chinese phonetic transcription system.

and culture, which are believed to offer necessary knowledge to understand the Chinese FAMILY concept. These sociological discoveries also serve as the supportive evidence for interpreting the results from the present linguistic research. The overview of the available linguistic research of FAMILY provides a summary of the previous findings about FAMILY in Chinese, and lays down the ground for the present research which aims to offer a more comprehensive inspection of FAMILY with more convincing empirical data. Chapter three is the introduction of the theoretical framework for the present research, with detailed discussions about the cognitive linguistic theories of metaphor and metonymy and the important effects of context on people's figurative conceptualizations. Chapter four gives a thorough description of the research methodology, which reviews the advantages of a corpus-based approach in linguistic research and depicts the research procedures and the Chinese language corpus used in the research. It also introduces questionnaires and interviews as supplementary research methods to accomplish the research goals because of the practical restraints on the availability of research data. There is no available Chinese language corpus with linguistic data collected solely from materials of the twenty-first century, so questionnaires and interviews might be the only feasible ways to produce a large quantity of authentic linguistic data for inspecting the possible changes in the Chinese people's figurative understanding of FAMILY in contemporary times.

Chapter five starts analytical discussions about the research results with a focus on the examination of the Chinese compounds with 家(jiā). Based on the corpus findings, it aims to reveal how conceptual devices of metaphor and metonymy function in the creation of the Chinese compounds with 家(jiā) and construct their various meanings in actual use. As a polysemy, 家(jiā) may show prototype effects in its semantic meanings in the Chinese compounds with 家(jiā), and culturally specific metaphors are also expected to show up and will be analyzed in detail. Chapter six mainly deals with the metaphors of FAMILY identified exhaustively from the Chinese language corpus and intends to discover: 1) What is(are) the most frequently used source domain(s) for conceptualizing FAMILY; 2) How the Chinese cultural context may affect the choices of certain specific source domains for FAMILY. It is also noticed that FAMILY is used as a source domain to conceptualize other concepts, which might display the unique Chinese cultural elements that require more detailed discussions. Therefore, chapter seven concentrates on what concepts are metaphorically understood through FAMILY in Chinese, and a small-scoped comparative study is added to discuss the adoption of Lakoff's (1996) family models and cultural differences in the application of FAMILY metaphors in politics. Chapter eight and nine are dedicated to the exploration of the possible changes in the Chinese people's figurative conceptualizations of FAMILY. These two chapters describe a questionnaire study and an interviewing study conducted respectively in mainland China among young people and in Hungary among Chinese immigrants living in Budapest, with analytical comparisons of research findings with those of the Chinese language corpus. The last chapter is a short, general conclusion of the whole research where the major research discoveries are summarized and the limitations of the present research and possible future studies about the concept of FAMILY are indicated.

## **Chapter Two: Literature Review of the Research about Family in China**

Closely related with marriage, ethics and morality, family has long been an intriguing topic for academic research, with hundreds of research papers published worldwide each year. However, the existing literature on family studies falls mainly into the research discipline of sociology, and very few research papers are dedicated to the metaphorical comprehension of FAMILY in Chinese, not to mention a corpus-based study of the Chinese concept of FAMILY within the framework of cognitive linguistics and conceptual metaphor theory. Even though discussions about the use of FAMILY metaphors have scattered through cognitive linguistic studies of political discourse, no available literature has been devoted solely to a comparatively comprehensive analysis of FAMILY metaphors in Chinese. The shortage of previous literature on the cognitive linguistic research of FAMILY and the fascination to unveil the Chinese figurative conceptualizations of the concept have initiated the present study of FAMILY in modern Mandarin Chinese, which needs to incorporate a brief review of the sociological research of the Chinese family, since FAMILY as a socio-cultural concept may embody the distinct attributes of cultural values and social norms of a specific culture that have been identified and discussed in numerous sociological works. The involvement of relevant sociological discoveries as supportive, referential evidence in the present research is inevitable in developing a profound, coherent analysis of the Chinese conception of FAMILY.

Moreover, the sociological research findings of the Chinese family have indeed contributed much to the existing knowledge of the family in China, making them eligible to serve as informative background knowledge to facilitate the figurative understanding of FAMILY in Chinese. In their substantial research works, Chinese and western sociologists have investigated extensively the institution of Chinese family over the years and explained in great detail about the composition, the structure, the historical development and the socio-cultural values of the family in China as well as its central role in the Chinese people's life. They have also illustrated the unique features of the Chinese family noticed already by missionaries in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as the cultural practices of the ancestor worship rituals, legal concubinage and large multigenerational families with married brothers living under the same roof in feudal China (Ebrey 2003). Meanwhile, great attention has been paid to the changes of the Chinese family under the influences of drastic social changes brought by globalization, modernization and urbanization. For example, legal concubinage has been terminated since the foundation of the People's Republic of China in 1949, and modern education and social reforms have greatly weakened the hold of the traditional worship rituals (Eastman 1988). In addition, it has been detected in China the gradual movement from the pattern of the traditional multigenerational family with high fertility rates towards the modern smaller family with fertility decline in recent four decades, but family still stands central in the Chinese people's life to satisfy personal needs nowadays despite of the changes in its structure and size (Zang 2011). Since language is always regarded as a carrier of cultural values and traditions, and the linguistic study of people's figurative conceptualizations of a socio-cultural concept may unavoidably reflect the social and cultural roots underlying the concept, those major sociological findings about the Chinese family in previous literature are briefly presented first in this chapter. The discussions of these sociological findings are followed by a review of the previous linguistic



research of FAMILY in Chinese so as to provide an outline of the Chinese family and a clear display of the underlying cultural values and norms that have found expression in the Chinese language.

## **1. The sociological discoveries about the Chinese family**

In the view of most sociologists, the institution of family is generally considered as the most basic social unit that universally exists in any known culture, and Hinsch (2011) claims that the order of family is dictated by the rules of kinship, which is also a form of social organization deriving from human creativity with kinship roles and customs governed by social beliefs and cultural values. Moreover, kinship plays an important role in almost all social relations in addition to indicating biological blood ties, because it not only defines the relationship between family members but also endows people with legitimate social identities by assigning them basic social roles such as husband, wife, son or daughter. Family and kinship have held central positions in the Chinese society and economy for a long time, and their particular importance is ascribable to the fact that China is a country flourishing upon the development of agriculture which demands complex labor work and long-time stable cooperation in order to fulfill the cycle of agricultural production. In early China, the practical needs of agriculture turned the household into the basic economic organization and initiated the inhabitation pattern of family clans living together, since single persons were not able to complete the task of agricultural production that was usually accomplished through the joint efforts of all family members. In addition, family and kin relations were so fundamental to the Chinese interpersonal relations in an agricultural society that major social activities such as worship rituals, education, work, law, and politics were also structured and organized around kinship network (Eastman 1988; Hinsch 2011). The customs of kin interaction were extended to regulate the rules of social and political communications, and the Chinese people at that time could manage various social interactions with their multiple social roles granted by the intricate Chinese kinship system (Hinsch 2011).

The spread of Confucianism also accounts for the emphasis on the family in the Chinese culture and the formation of those deep-rooted Chinese family values. It is believed that Confucianism has set up “a preoccupation with familial relations and ethics” (Zang 2008: 300), and the Confucian moral philosophy is based upon a moral/social hierarchical structure that corresponds to the familial and political hierarchy (Liu 2006). In Confucian teachings, the emphasis is laid on the importance of education, ancestor worship and submission to authority, and a desirable society should build on “five principal relationships: filial piety between father and son, loyalty between ruler and subject, harmony between husband and wife, precedence of the elder over the younger in family relations, and trust between friends” (Chai, M and Chai, W 2007: 41). Among these five relationships, three are directly associated with proper family and kin relations to organize the family life. In fact, loyalty, filial piety, benevolence and righteousness are the most prized core virtues of the Confucian morality, and they all evolve from family love and sincere care between family members (Tan 1999; Wu 2006; Qian 2006). Being the key Chinese family value, filial piety is considered to be the root of loyalty, benevolence and righteousness, which demands the son to respect and obey the father in all circumstances and the father to serve as a moral exemplar and educate morality with rules and harsh punishments (Starr 2010). Moreover, such model of reciprocal father-son paradigm is applied to other relationships within and outside family, so it is

deemed to be a moral imperative for family members to love, trust and help each other, and the younger generation has ethical duties to respect, obey and take care of their elder relatives (Eastman 1988; Thornton and Lin 1994; Zang 2008; Starr 2010). Loyalty to one's family is the first and foremost obligation, and loyalty towards rulers or the country is the extended observation of filial piety within a family (Wu 2006; Zang 2008), so children are educated to love their family members first so that they can develop the virtues of benevolence and righteousness through extending loyalty, love and trust between family members to non-kin people in society. Thus, the insistence on the importance of family derives from the cardinal virtues of Confucianism, and underlies the Chinese belief that the establishment of harmonious families is the foundation of social harmony and political stability.

Characterized as patrimonial and patrilocal, the traditional Chinese family was built on the patrilineal descent system and patriarchal authority, with women living in oppression within and outside their family life (Hamilton 1990; Thornton and Lin 1994). The ideological background of Confucianism during imperial times had strongly supported the traditional Chinese family system that served as one of the main reasons for gender inequality in China because men enjoyed more superior and dominant roles, while women were submissive and governed as subordinates (Ebrey 2003; Zang 2008). In order to pass down the family name and perpetuate the patriarchal family lines, Chinese couples were obliged to give birth to at least one son in order to avoid bringing shame to the ancestors of their family. More sons were highly preferred as the permanent family members but daughters were seen as burdens and expenses by their parents, since daughters were destined to marry and leave their natal family to support their husband's family. So, "female infanticide was practiced among some poor families before 1949" and "abortions of female fetuses may contribute most to the extremely high sex ratio for males among newborns" (Zang 2008: 308-309) in the current times. Besides, the ideal traditional family was a large household with five generations living under one roof and sharing the same property, so all sons were expected to live with their wives and children in their natal extended family, retain life-time financial relationships with their parents and inherit an approximately equal share of the inheritance (Eastman 1988; Ebrey 2003; Zang 2008). Thus, parents were more willing to invest in sons to harvest long-time returns in their declining years, and even exploit the resources of daughters to acquire more economic benefits for their sons (Eastman 1988). Being attached to men as daughters, sisters, wives and mothers, women usually had their life restricted within family and kin units to manage domestic chores and suffered from social inequalities and exclusion of public life in feudal China. Women today can keep their maiden names after marriage and enjoy more equal rights in both family and social life, but they are still subjected to gender discrimination in workplaces and mistreatment or blame for not being able to bear male descendants under the influence of the traditional family values that still linger on in contemporary China.

As a Chinese tradition deriving from Confucianism, family ancestors were revered and memorialized, who were believed to have an afterlife and take on spiritual roles to bless and protect their living offspring. Sacrifices were offered to secure their comfort in the afterlife by their filial descendants through family rituals of ancestor worship, which could be termed as the essential religion of the Chinese (Eastman 1988). Hence the traditional Chinese family functioned simultaneously as "an economic unit in which the members produced and consumed in common, a religious unit that was responsible for performing the rites required for the well-being of both living and deceased members of the family; and a social-security

organization that provided for the care of its needy and aging members” (Eastman 1988: 16). By honoring the first patriarchal ancestor, individual families with same blood used to form a large family lineage that might include all relatives living in the same community to organize power and maximize their regional economic and political interests. According to the research of Eastman (1988), family lineages could have as many as 2,000 to 3,000 living male members and compiled genealogies to maintain identities, boost family prestige, regulate the degree of kinship and determine the claims of clan privileges among the members. In addition, powerful lineages often safeguarded their local political security, and possessed corporate properties that enable them to perform the functions of the traditional family and finance the construction of the ancestral temples, the education of the young lineage members and the organization of lineage defense in times of conflicts. By strengthening rural solidarity and taking control of local political and economic power, influential family lineages could develop into the formulation of lineage village or territorial lineage in order to manipulate social and class contradictions (Fei 1992; Zheng 2001). Zheng (2001) further affirms the important role family lineage organization played in the traditional Chinese society, since it provided the kinship-based model that underlay the formation of all other social organizations. In his opinion, lineage organization was both inclusive and flexible, and it could be built upon ties of common interest and internal relations of power and subordination in addition to the inherited kinship bonds. Therefore, family lineage organization successfully combined blood ties with interest and territorial relations, which displayed the pluralistic social character of late imperial China and promoted the inner development of the traditional Chinese society.

Furthermore, the importance of the family and kinships in China has been observed in politics as well, which shows the distinct cultural feature through the integration of the Chinese concepts of FAMILY and COUNTRY/STATE/NATION. Unlike the Western civilization that was established on the ruins of the clanship, ancient Chinese kingdoms were small territories organized and governed by tribes or large family clans in the early days of the Chinese civilization (Wu 2006). As early as the Western Zhou dynasty (1046 B.C.-771 B.C.), the Chinese patriarchal clan system had reached its stage of maturity and had laid down the state structure through implementing the enfeoffment system based also upon the royal blood ties. The kings of kingdoms were thus at the same time the heads of their patriarchal families, whose political life interwove inevitably with their family life, since the scope of the political governance of their vassal states was the same with that of their ruling family clans on their fiefs (Tan 1999; Qian 2006). Therefore, the Chinese conception of *JIA* (family) at that time was identical with the state, which paved the way for the integration of the concepts of FAMILY and COUNTRY/STATE/NATION. After the Qin and Han Dynasties (221 B.C.-207 B.C.), the patriarchal clan system was separated from the monarchy system and the family was no longer a political entity, but the imperial rulership in China had always been a family business by uniting politics with kinship, and the country/state/nation was seen as an extended large family, in which the hereditary ruler was the parent and the ruled were the children, with the proper relation between the ruler and the minister interpreted metaphorically as the bond between husband and wife (Qian 2006; Hinsch 2011). The traditional Chinese family-country consciousness has been passed down to the present day, and the family remains to be the microcosm of the country/state/nation through which the Chinese people perceive the organization of political power and develop their spirit of patriotism.

In fact, the traditional family values and the Confucian morality system have exerted

profound influence on shaping the Chinese norms of interpersonal relations. The Confucian ideas and values have set the central role for kinship practices in Chinese social interactions, and the lineage organization based on Confucian family virtues has led to the development of a “lineage paradigm” in studies of kinship practices in Chinese society (Freedman 1958, 1966; Yan 2009). However, Chinese kinship has the characteristics of being fluid, flexible and relative, which need to be captured in order to understand the nature of Chinese kinship (Yan 2009). As pointed out by Fei (1992: 63-74), in contrast with the situation in Western society where public and private duties and rights were clearly differentiated, there was no clear boundary between the public and private spheres in Chinese rural society, since the social order worked in a pattern of “oscillating but differential social circles”, which started from the self and extended out to develop layers of concentric circles constituted by one’s personal relations that were mainly structured through kinship and friendship under Confucian ethical principles of filial piety, fraternal duty, loyalty and sincerity. Public and private became relative concepts in this pattern because each social circle could be seen as part of the public for its inner circles but was part of the private in comparison with outer circles. So, it depended on the person who stood in the center to decide what “norms of social interactions and moral judgments” should be “applied to discrete categories of people in these circles” (Yan 2009: 104), which explained the Chinese personal traits of being selfish and utilitarian in their efforts to achieve individual needs by mobilizing varying degrees of personal networks. What’s more, the traditional Chinese family as part of a complex lineage system had no fixed, clear boundary either, because a person’s *jia* (family) could expand or shrink in order to adapt to the practical requirements of carrying out its political, economic and religious functions (Fei 1992). Since neither the traditional Chinese family nor Chinese lineage organization were defined only by blood ties, the Chinese people could extend their *jia* by including their strengthened ties with other relatives or enlarge their lineage by recruiting their cultivated friendships with non-kins.

Such a family-oriented, person-centered style of social relationships has been termed as *guanxi* in Chinese and the operation of *guanxi* is still pervasive in every sector of urban China, with its utilitarian value and influential role proved by the scholarly literature concerning the domains of politics, business, social life and academic scientific research in modern Chinese society (see Yan 2009; Ma and Cheng 2010; Li 2010; Wang, Ye and Franco 2014; Lewis, Di and Ecklund 2017). The practice of *guanxi* has reflected the Chinese cultural norms and values about social interactions and displayed its family orientation through the custom of applying kinship terms to address non-kin people. In a society where social activities were traditionally structured upon family and kinship and all other relations were customarily regarded as the extension or expansion of family relations, any potentially long-lasting social relationships might be automatically invested and cultivated with the roles and relational expectations of the household, so the phenomena of addressing an elder neighbor uncle or aunt and calling a close friend with kinship term of brother or sister are frequently observed in China. Moreover, a well-lubricated *guanxi* relationship needs constant endeavor to maintain and improve the relation through gift-giving or doing favors for each other so that the rights and obligations to one another are balanced, and future benefits are guaranteed by the returns of doing favors for others (Eastman 1988; Fei 1992; Yan 2009). *Guanxi*-practice can build up long-term mutual trust and strengthen the relations within the network of *guanxi* but the reliance on *guanxi* in Chinese social interactions also results in nepotism, cronyism and corruption that undermine social justice and social equity (Eastman 1988; Li 2010; Lewis,

Di and Ecklund 2017), since the standards of social behaviors are not determined by the public regulations or laws but by the degree of intimacy in personal relations. Regardless of personal qualifications, people who maintain a good network of *guanxi* are entitled to resources and benefits to develop in their career path, while people without *guanxi* are deprived of trust and equal chances for development in their profession. In recent years, the negative results from the cultural operation of *guanxi* have received criticisms (see Gold 2002; Li 2010; Lewis, Di and Ecklund 2017), and various measures have been taken by the Chinese government to combat corruption and establish a law-based society to secure social justice and stability.

On the other hand, the Confucian family morality is also the key reason for the absence of individuality in traditional Chinese society. In order to capture the importance of the family in the Chinese culture and society, the term *familism* is created to highlight the fundamental, instructive role of the family and describe its distinct characteristics in China (Eastman 1988). *Familism* generally refers to an ideology that puts priority on the family, promotes strong family attachment and identification and requires family members to fulfill their family obligations and sacrifice their interests for the well-being of the family (Marín, G and Marín, B 1991). In Rajkai's (2014) opinion, *familism* in Chinese academic discussions not only tends to emphasize the positive family-loving self-image but also indicates the features of the traditional family and the feudal social relations in China. It has been widely acknowledged that family relationships were taken as a paradigm for traditional social and political relations, and the family was the medium to organize social activities in feudal China (Eastman 1988; Fei 1992; Zheng 2001; Zang 2008; Starr 2010). So, it was no wonder that law, bureaucratic practices and social order all supported the priorities of family and kinship, and the Confucian family virtues were ideologically extolled as the root of the traditional Chinese morality that restrained individuality by the ethical demands of giving precedence to the family over the individuals and sacrificing personal interests to preserve the interests of the family (Freedman 1970; Wu 2006).

*Familism* in feudal China was characterized by the exaltation of filial piety that was based on strict principles of hierarchy, obligation and obedience (Ebrey 2003), which organized the power division within the family and laid the foundation for the social superior-subordinate hierarchy that assigned the relative social status to an individual upon the criteria of age, gender, marriage and lineage (Eastman 1988). In the traditional collective Chinese society where the family and kinship organization stood central to individual identities and group affiliation was essential to social interactions (Eastman 1988), it was considered as a moral duty for individuals to show loyalty and love to the family, fulfill family responsibilities and contribute to the well-being of the family or the collective social community where they were members. Thus, the value of an individual was judged by his or her contribution to the family or the collective community rather than by his or her personal pursuits. Moreover, in Confucian thought, the individual was regarded as the fundamental locus for self-cultivation and moral transformation to contribute to a moral society but individual autonomy and individual freedom were not promoted as a moral stance (Brindley 2010). Therefore, individuality was suppressed by Chinese *familism* that both emphasized ancestors and the collective interests and expected individuals to subordinate their personal goals and interests to the requirements of the family or that of the collective community. However, under the influence of globalization and modernization, Chinese society in the past four decades has undergone a series of radical institutional changes and witnessed the rise of

individuality in people's private life that demands the freedom to pursue individual interests and the protection of individual rights (Yan 2009). Chinese *familism* in the present urban and industrial society has taken a new utilitarianistic form which has weakened the grip of Confucian morality and obligations of filial piety but put more emphasis on the realization of individual goals rather than self-sacrifice for collective interests through utilizing patrilineal ideology and kinship as parts of the utilitarian social networks geared for the satisfaction of individual emotional and practical needs (Lau 1981; Yan 2009).

In addition, globalization, industrialization and modernization have brought dynamic changes in the Chinese people's mentality and behavior, and fast social and economic developments have encouraged the practices of consumerism and pragmatism which have resulted in the shift in moral values from the precedence of the collective well-being to the legitimacy of the pursuit of individual interests (Yan 2009). Such new stream of individual orientation along with the social and economic reforms launched by the Chinese central government in the recent forty years have brought structural and ideological changes to the Chinese family in terms of family size, family relations and the family ideal (Zheng 1992; Yan 2009; Zang 2011). Generally speaking, three forms of Chinese family are customarily distinguished by social anthropologists: 1) the conjugal family has a father, a mother and their unmarried children with no more than six persons in a household; 2) the large, extended or joint family usually consists of a husband, a wife, their unmarried children, two or more married sons, their sons' wives and children, and even their grandsons' wives and children; 3) the stem family can be seen as an incomplete extended family, which has parents, unmarried children, one married son and the son's wife and children lived in one household (Eastman 1988). Even though the typical extended family with five generations living together has long been regarded as the traditional family ideal (Ebrey 2003) due to Confucian ideology and the labor requirement of the agricultural society, such ideal is in fact very difficult to achieve because of people's short life span and the practice of family inheritance division among sons, so the proportion of extended families was estimated as no more than six or seven percent in feudal China (Eastman 1988), and extended families with three generations constituted only about twenty percent of all Chinese households in 2000 (Zang 2011). Most of the Chinese families in feudal times were in stem or conjugal form, aiming at expanding into the preferred extended family model with three or four generations sharing the same residence. Despite the difficulty to maintain a multigenerational family, the persistence of the extended families in contemporary China seems to preserve the heritages of the Chinese family traditions and highlight the primary function of the Chinese family as a basic care center for both children and the elderly.

However, the research of Yan (2009) and Zang (2008; 2011) has also proved that there has been a gradual movement to establish more intimate, smaller nuclear families with a couple and unmarried children in China since last century. Moreover, the sharp decline in fertility rate after the introduction of the one-child policy at the end of the 1970s has further decreased the members of households. Rapid economic development and social changes have generated more chances for self-development and realization of personal goals, so individuals have been reluctant to fulfill the traditional family obligation of perpetuating their family by raising more children at the cost of their own interests and personal comfort. As a result, fertility rate has not increased so much as expected even after the abolishment of the one-child policy in 2015<sup>3</sup>. The below-replacement fertility<sup>4</sup> in contemporary China and the

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<sup>3</sup> The one-child policy has been implemented in China for 35 years since the 1970s, and was abolished officially in 2015 as

dominance of the nuclear family in both urban and rural areas (Zheng 1992; Yan 2009; Zang 2008) have greatly demonstrated the waning of the traditional family values and the growing individual demands for independence, freedom and privacy in family life. Thus, “the pursuit of intimacy, independence, choice and individual happiness” has gradually become the new family ideal which indicates that the individual has been “freed from a number of constraints previously imposed by the family” (Yan 2009: xxxiv-xxv).

Meanwhile, remarkable changes have been detected within the family as well: the central axis of the patriarchal father-son relationship has been replaced by husband-wife relationship and the Confucian power hierarchy in family relations has also been weakened (Yan 2009). The norms of filial piety have been redefined by relinquishing unconditional obedience and subordination of the young and women to the father or the dominant elders, with “the focal point of resource allocation, emotional attachment, and life aspiration in the family shifted from glorifying the ancestors to raising the perfect child” (Yan 2016: 244). Married women have enjoyed more domestic power, especially those in urban areas who have more opportunities to hold jobs outside their family and do not depend solely on their husbands for financial support. The working husbands and wives thus have established a “collectivized family organization” in which they aim to construct a harmonious relationship and share both the household decision-making power and the financial burdens of running the family together (Zuo and Bian 2005; Zang 2008). Besides, a critical analysis about changes in mainland Chinese families made by Xu and Xia (2014: 49) has revealed that contemporary Chinese families have taken various forms in addition to the nuclear structure, such as “temporary extended family”, “grandparent-headed nuclear family”, “single parent family”, “single household family” and “two household head family”, which are the consequences of the interactions of history, culture, government policies and reforms in the modernization process of the family.

Despite those dramatic changes in modern Chinese society and the Chinese family, scholars have agreed upon the importance of the family in understanding Chinese social customs and cultural values. The control of the traditional family values has been declining but not totally disappeared, and the unique Chinese “family collectivism” and mutual dependence continue to be the dominating family values (Zuo and Bian 2005; Zang 2008; Xu and Xia 2014), since individuals still need to rely on their families to get support and relief before the establishment of a new system of public support. The rapid social and economic developments have indeed promoted individuality in China (Yan 2009) but mutual family responsibilities still come before individual growth (Xu and Xia 2014), and children are still expected to respect, obey and care for the elders, which are in accordance with the traditional

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a measure to tackle the problem of ageing. Each married couple in China can legally have two children at the present time, and National Health and Family Planning Commission of the People’s Republic of China has expected a surge in child birth (17 and 20 million births a year until 2020) to raise up the low fertility rate of 1.6 births per woman in 2015 after the abolishment of the one-child policy (see relevant information on its official website at: <http://www.nhfpc.gov.cn>). However, contrary to the optimistic estimation of the family planning commission, the demographical figures from the reports of National Bureau of Statistics of the People’s Republic of China (official website at: <http://www.stats.gov.cn>) have shown that both the number of new-borns and the birth rate were on the decrease during 2016 and 2017, with 17.23 million babies born in 2017, 630,000 fewer than 2016, and the birth rate dropping from 1.295 per cent in 2016 to 1.243 per cent in 2017. A shift in the desire of child rearing has been observed, and people at reproductive age are unwilling to have children due to the soaring cost of raising a child, the great shortage of childcare service and the high pressure in life and workplace.

<sup>4</sup> According to the official statistics from National Bureau of Statistics of the People’s Republic of China, the birth rate in China was the lowest in the world in 2015. The birth rate figures of 2016 and 2017 also fell behind the generally accepted replacement level of 2.1. China’s fertility rate has dropped below replacement level since the early 1990s under the effects of the one-child policy and social changes brought by urbanization and modernization. Despite the slightly increased number of newborns after the end of the one-child policy, China’s fertility rate remains below replacement level nowadays.

obligations of filial piety and show the persistent influence of the deep-rooted cultural family values and ideologies in contemporary China. So far, the previous sociological discoveries about the Chinese family have constituted a panoramic view about the family institution in China, and thus become an indispensable source of reference for the present linguistic study of the Chinese concept of FAMILY.

## **2. Previous linguistic research about the Chinese concept of FAMILY**

In contrast to the large number of sociological studies about the Chinese family, the linguistic studies of FAMILY in Chinese occupy a much smaller percentage in the academic research databases, and much of the available linguistic literature concentrates on the Chinese kinship terminology to discuss the concept of FAMILY which is bound with blood ties, kinship and lineage relationships due to the unique Chinese cultural and historical conditions, and attaching great importance to the family with an emphasis on kin relations is seen as a Chinese tradition that plays a positive role in maintaining the stability and harmony of both individual families and the whole society (Li 2008). It is believed that the Chinese family system and its central place in the Chinese people's life throughout history have found their expression in a finely grained semantic system of Chinese kinship terms that not only reveals how important Chinese cultural patterns are enacted at the domestic level but also shows the cultural power structure, the patterns of interpersonal communication and normative elements of the family system, structure and functions in Chinese society (Huang and Jia 2000; Qian and Piao 2009).

With descriptive and analytic research methodologies, scholars have agreed that the Chinese kinship system is a very sophisticated, descriptive system characterized by intricate forms of address for a person's all relatives based on gender, generation, lineage, marriage and relative age, whose complexity displays an unique feature that distinguishes the Chinese language and culture from others (Chao 1956; Wu 1990; Chen 2010; Yin 2010). In such a complex kinship system, consanguineal and affinal relationships are differentiated with two sets of kin titles, and agnatic cousins are distinguished from both uterine and cross-cousins (Huang and Jia 2000; Zuo 2003). Each family member holds a particular kin title that clearly indicates his or her precise genealogical position and status, duties of filial piety, ceremonial responsibilities and the preferential treatment in inheritance division within an individual family. Besides, Chinese kin terms are embodied with the traditional Chinese family morality that regulates proper, expected behaviors, so the hierarchical structure of the family and the strong family affiliation are rigorously reinforced by addressing each other with right kin terms among family members.

Moreover, comparative studies of kinship terminology between Chinese and English have shown that the intricate distinctions in kin relations have given rise to a much more complicated system of Chinese kinship terminology than that of English (see Chao 1956b; Wu 1990; Zhou 1998; Huang and Jia 2000; Zuo 2003; Chen 2010; Qian and Piao 2009; Yin 2010). The greater diversity of Chinese kin terms both allows for a fine classification of all kin relations and reflects the necessity of maintaining a close, extensive relation network with remote relatives in China which is not a salient socializing practice in British and American cultures, so many Chinese kinship terms for collateral, remote relatives do not have their equivalents in English. Furthermore, the pervasive application of kinship terms to address non-relatives has also been confirmed in current Chinese social interactions, where Chinese



kinship terms such as grandpa, grandma, aunt, uncle, brother and sister are employed to address neighbors, colleagues and friends, and grandpa, grandma, aunt and uncle are even applied to strangers as social appellations to show respect and courtesy. However, such a naming practice is seldom observed in the interpersonal communication in English, since non-kin relations are not customarily mingled into kinship networks in western cultures. In addition, various semantic studies of Chinese kinship terms have unveiled the cultural importance of kinship terms in China by highlighting their crucial role in constituting and preserving the Chinese cultural traditions that still have a strong hold on the norms of Chinese social interactions and exert considerable influence on the Chinese people's daily life in contemporary China and the overseas Chinese communities (see McCoy 1970; Baker 1979; Huang and Jia 2000; Qian and Piao 2009).

With their contribution of a detailed analysis of the cultural connotations and communicative functions of Chinese kinship terms, Huang and Jia (2000) have specified the cultural roots for the system of Chinese kinship terminology which has been regarded as a product born from the dynamic, historical interactions of the traditional family-centered economy, an agricultural society and a Confucian hierarchical family structure. They have further commented that the facilitation of identifying one's right place in the familial and social relation webs and the demonstration of the Chinese value of close family relationship along with people's preference of living together with or near the family are main social, communicative functions of the Chinese kinship terms. What's more, Huang and Jia (2000) have shared Tanaka's view to interpret the application of kinship terms to non-kins as "a self-evident case of the 'metaphorical' or 'fictive' extension of the egocentric kinship ideology to wider social areas" (Tanaka 1977: 211). This view illustrates the family's vital position as the nexus of all social relations in China and the solidarity aspects of the Chinese culture that values modesty, harmony and devotion to the collective interests (Wu 1990; Chen 2010; Yin 2010), with a goal of forging an united, harmonious society by metaphorically making it into a big family in which social relations are understood figuratively as familial relations. Thus, the SOCIETY AS FAMILY metaphor is linguistically manifested by the orderly system of Chinese kinship terms, and the close relationship between the Chinese culture and the Chinese concept of FAMILY is clearly showcased in the motivation of the metaphor.

Following the research line of cognitive linguistics, several scholars have presented published research works in relation to the metaphorical understanding of FAMILY and the figurative use of FAMILY as a source domain to conceptualize other abstract concepts in Chinese. With a detailed analysis about the semantic category of 家(jiā), the Chinese compounds with 家(jiā) as a constituent morpheme and the Chinese idioms and phrases containing 家(jiā), Feng (2011) has discovered that metaphor and metonymy prevail in the semantic extension of 家(jiā) and the meaning construction of the Chinese compounds, idioms and phrases with 家(jiā). According to Feng (2011), the original meaning of 家(jiā) refers to family built on blood ties and shared property, and other meanings listed on the Chinese dictionaries are semantic extensions through metaphor and metonymy. It is also noted that the SOCIETY AS FAMILY metaphor is widely in use, and the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor has been lexicalized into the compound 国家(guó jiā), which literally means "country-family" and refers to a country/state/nation in Chinese. Feng's research is conducted with linguistic data from Chinese dictionaries and the classics of ancient China to show the historical development of the semantic category of 家(jiā), but it is not devoted to the analysis of metaphorical conceptualizations of the FAMILY concept in Chinese with

empirical evidence, so neither the source domains of FAMILY nor FAMILY metaphors are clearly identified and presented in Feng's research.

Rosenblatt and Li (2011) have carried out their research of similes and metaphors for FAMILY in Chinese with linguistic data collected through key Chinese search engines (Google and Baidu) on the Internet. After the Chinese character 家(jiā) and the Chinese words for “is” (是 shì) and “is like” (像 xiàng, 似 sì, and 如 rú) were entered into the search engines on December 18, 2009, eighty hits appeared and similes and metaphors were identified from the results pages and related websites, from which only nine similes and metaphors for FAMILY that were linked to more than 5000 websites were selected for further discussion in consideration of research feasibility and substantial frequency. In the opinions of Rosenblatt and Li (2011), the similes of FAMILY IS LIKE A PROSE and A PERSON WHO LONGS FOR FAMILY IS LIKE A SHOOTING ARROW may accentuate the family as a comfortable, casual and attractive place, and SAFE PLACE, HARBOR, HAVEN, GAS STATION, CENTER OF THE EARTH, ARROW TARGET and BOAT are source domains of FAMILY that not only highlight the positive aspects of family as a desirable place of safety, comfort, love, trust and support but also reflect the centrality of the family in the Chinese people's life as well as the crucial Chinese cultural values of family harmony and compatibility. Furthermore, it has also been pointed out that the emphasis on harmony may imply an intolerance of any signs of disharmony in Chinese family relations, so family members tend to keep conflicts or disagreements in their family life to themselves, and family harmony is a Chinese cultural ideal that is hard to achieve in reality because of various financial and emotional problems. Rosenblatt and Li (2011) have successfully associated their sociological discussion with those similes and metaphors for FAMILY found in linguistic materials on the Internet to illustrate the Chinese cultural values and figurative understanding of FAMILY. At the same time, they have also admitted that their research has been limited to the exploration of the hits on the first results page on the Internet without solid validations of the representativeness of the concerned nine similes and metaphors, and it is difficult to judge who have adopted these similes and metaphors in actual use and thus contributed to their high frequency on the Internet.

In addition, comparative research has been conducted by Zhou (2011), Ye (2012), Zhang and Chen (2013) to reveal the similarities and differences between Chinese 家(jiā) and English *family* and *home* in respective cultures. With an introspective study of the semantic variation between Chinese 家(jiā) and English *family/home*, Zhou (2011) has claimed that Chinese 家(jiā) has developed into a radiant semantic category of polysemy through metaphorical or metonymic mappings. Moreover, the centrality of the FAMILY concept in Chinese society and ideologies is a salient feature of the Chinese culture, which has motivated the cognitive model of 家(jiā) that includes the following propositional structure: the residential house, the family built upon blood or marriage and familial relations, the responsibilities and duties among family members, the household articles, the material and mental support for family members, and the responsibilities and values of the family members towards the family. Based on the cognitive model of 家(jiā), metaphor and metonymy function as the important cognitive mechanisms for the semantic extension of 家(jiā) from its prototypical meaning of “family; home” to “collective groups or communities”, showing the characteristics of a collective society where the norms of family life are extended to the domain of social interactions. However, *family* and *home* in English have separate cognitive models with different prototypical meanings and patterns of meaning extension. The cognitive model of *family* in English has its prototypical meaning emphasizing the ties of

consanguinity, family values and family love, while the prototypical meaning of *home* stresses the physical form of the residential place. Zhou (2011) believes that individualism is highly promoted as a virtue in British and American cultures, and the pursuit of freedom for self-expression and individuality takes precedence over other matters. Therefore, western people tend to lack the strong sense of community affiliation shared by the Chinese people, and the FAMILY concept in English is not merged with social life outside the family through figurative extensions.

Zhou's research (2011) has captured the main differences between Chinese 家(jiā) and English *family* but no empirical linguistic data are presented to support the research findings, and there are no elaborations about the differences between Chinese 家(jiā) and English *home* which are investigated later by Ye (2012) and Zhang and Chen (2013) who have concentrated on contrast studies of metaphorical conceptualizations of HOME in Chinese and English. Ye (2012) has argued that SAFE PLACE, CONTAINER and BUILDING are shared general source domains for HOME in two languages, which may demonstrate the potential universality of metaphor due to people's shared bodily experience in their interactions with the world. With linguistic data from language corpora, Zhang and Chen (2013) have suggested that the original meaning of home is people's residential place in both languages, and other meanings listed in dictionaries are semantic extensions through metaphorical mappings, with PERSON, EMOTION and SENSE OF BELONGING identified as the common source domains for HOME. It is also indicated that different cultural values and traditions have influenced people's metaphorical conceptualizations of HOME. For example, Ye (2012) has noticed that HOME is conceptualized as a gas station or a sanatorium in Chinese but a closed castle in English, which can reveal the emotional dependence on home for support in the Chinese culture and the emphasis upon individual space in western culture. Zhang and Chen (2013) have also pointed out that HOME is used as a source domain to comprehend the concept of ORIGIN in English, but no linguistic data with such metaphor are found in the Chinese corpus used for their research. Unfortunately, none of these researchers have conducted a comprehensive study about the concept of FAMILY in Chinese with linguistic data from language corpora, even though they have contributed to the literature about the figurative understanding of FAMILY and HOME with an analysis of the underlying cultural elements.

On the other hand, FAMILY as a familiar domain in people's daily life is widely used as a source domain to conceptualize other abstract concepts as well. Among all FAMILY metaphors discussed in the published literature, the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor seems to exist universally in American, European and Chinese political discourse. In *Moral Politics*, Lakoff (1996) has outlined the conceptual metaphors behind general American political reasoning and concluded that both liberal and conservative politicians use two variations of the same NATION AS FAMILY metaphor when talking or reasoning about issues of political interest, and such metaphor variations can guide people's moral and political attitudes. He has defined two family models in which the conservative belief system relies on a so-called Strict Father model, stressing competition, self-discipline and self-reliance while the liberal belief system rests upon the Nurturant Parent model, emphasizing the importance of nurturing both towards self and others. These two models have depicted different conceptions of the ideal family that may lead to fundamentally different morality systems which in turn yield divergent policy preferences. In his opinion, the political model of China fits the Strict Father model but no empirical evidence and detailed investigations about Chinese FAMILY metaphors have been provided in his book to further support his ideas. Cienki (2005a, 2005b) has

empirically tested the two cognitive models of moral/political systems described by Lakoff and tried to map out specifics of FAMILY metaphors proposed in the models through corpora research with linguistic data of televised debates between two candidates for US presidency. However, linguistic realizations of FAMILY metaphors have not appeared abundantly as expected but many non-metaphoric expressions have been found to constitute entailments of Lakoff's family models. Therefore, Cienki has come to the conclusion that the concept of COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY is at a higher level of abstraction than what individual may experience at the basic level, so general metaphors may rarely appear in speech but they do appear in the process and structure of reasoning, and thus both metaphorical expressions and metaphorical entailments should be searched in any given corpora.

The scholarly studies seen as empirical validations of Lakoff's assertions have also confirmed that the NATION AS FAMILY metaphor and the cognitive models of the Strict Father and Nurturant Parent orientations do exist in people's reasoning system but not necessarily manifest in metaphorical expressions. Baker and Tinnick (2006) have tested the influence of parenting styles described by Lakoff's two family models on people's understanding of the power relations between the citizens and government with data obtained from the 2000 National Election Study in the United States. Their analysis of the respondents' choices of three forced-choice items has proved that the conceptions of family can affect people's policy preferences, since the family orientations (Strict Father and Nurturant Parent) adopted by the respondents are significantly related with their individual political values, attitudes and ideological identification. Deason, Lippmann, Gonzales and Filson (2008) have conducted their research with two series of open-ended survey questions and a four-scale measure designed to investigate the participants' endorsement of the family and morality orientations proposed by Lakoff and test whether FAMILY metaphors have been spontaneously activated in the participants' efforts to perceive the relations between the citizens and government. Echoing the findings of Baker and Tinnick (2006), they have discovered that the participants' views of the ideal family have manifested in consistency with their conceptions of morality and opinions about the role of government, and thus proved the spontaneous motivation of the corresponding FAMILY metaphors in the participants' comprehension of the complexities of political practices. Moreover, the differential reliance on Strict Father versus Nurturant Parent orientations is indeed contextual as claimed by Lakoff, depending on the topics at hand rather than stable individual differences or dominant, authoritative social orientations. Based on data from a survey and life-narrative interview texts of 128 religious and politically active midlife American adults, the research of McAdams et al. (2008) has also shown that in recalling their important autobiographical scenes in their life, conservatives have been more likely to stress the moral values of self-discipline and responsibility learned from the authoritative enforcers of strict rules, while liberals have emphasized the lessons of empathy and openness acquired from the main characters in their life stories. Furthermore, their research results have suggested that age and family income may have little bearing on the Strict Father and Nurturant Parent orientations but gender and political attitudes can relate closely with the participants' choices of FAMILY metaphors used in their life narratives. Even though men have expressed more themes of the Strict Father morality than women, the strong power of self-reported political ideology can override the effects of gender differences in the participants' life-narrative themes. These studies have not concentrated on the linguistic investigation of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor but have certainly revealed its vital function in shaping the American people's political conceptions.

In terms of European political discourse, Musolff (2004) has argued that the application of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor has had a long, distinguished history in European political thinking which originated from the theories of the state developed in antiquity and can be observed in some Latin terminology handed down into many European languages over the centuries, such as *patriot*, *patriotism* in English, *patriote*, *patriotisme* in French and *patriot*, *patriotismus* in German. The sociopolitical entity of a country/state/nation has long been metaphorically comprehended through the conceptual complex of a family with married parents and their children in European political thinking, so FAMILY, LOVE RELATIONSHIP and MARRIAGE are often used as source domains in the EU-related debates to understand the relationships among member states or between member states and the whole EU and/or its institutions. The EU-related political discourse also shows an “apparently greater popularity of EU-/euro-FATHERHOOD” whose popularity lies in “a powerful terminological and conceptual tradition of male-centered ideologies of statehood and politics in Western culture”, but “Euro-fathers are not at all predominantly seen as examples of STRICT FATHER morality” because “the FAMILY concept in euro-discourse appears to be more diffuse and less ideologically ‘laden’ than the US example” (Musolff 2004: 20-21).

Kövecses (2009) has concluded that Lakoff’s two family/moral models can be detected in Hungarian political reasoning with a special “Hungarian Twist” that conservative and liberal parties in Hungary have taken on the opposite models compared with their American counterparts. Based on his research, Farkas (2012) has examined the 11-year span (1999-2010) of annual government reports delivered by Hungarian prime ministers, and found out that more well developed metaphors with specifications of the characteristics of the concerning concept have been used by the conservative minister but linguistic manifestations of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor and its mappings have not appeared frequently enough to identify clearly which family model(s) can characterize either side of the political parties, so emerging morality models can only be depicted through feature descriptions of the target domains. In her opinion, the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor exists in the Hungarian political reasoning with substantial metaphorical entailments with reference to the background morality, but the “Hungarian Twist” is a multiple twist because both conservative and liberal parties in Hungary draw on dominant qualities of both the Strict Father and Nurturant Parent models and tend to change the preference of either model over time and among speakers.

Moreover, A’Beckett (2012) has commented that the studies carried out by Schäffner (1996) and Musolff (2004; 2006) on the manifestation of kinship terms and their roles in EU discourse have added a new dimension to the study of FAMILY metaphors with their discovery of a specific discourse representation of the FAMILY source domain and the attitudinal bias evoked by FAMILY metaphors in relation to EU topics, such as the development of the concepts of “married partners/adultery” in the EU community and the metaphorical conceptualizations of Eastern European countries as “younger brothers” or “siblings” of the Western grown-up states. Through exploring the variation of themes and social implications evoked by the salient metaphor NATIONS ARE BROTHERS in Russian, A’Beckett (2012) has noticed that as a subframe of the NATIONS ARE A FAMILY metaphor, the NATIONS ARE BROTHERS metaphor has supported the expansion of Russian interests and Communist propagandist purposes with its frequent application but the metaphor may carry different political implications for the discourse community, since the source domain of BROTHER can express either friendship and equality or an attempt of depriving individuality, and the understanding

of the metaphor depends on the political ideologies and intentions of both the producers and the receivers of the metaphor. Besides, the Strict Father family model has been activated with the metaphorical conceptions of Russia regarded as “the big brother” while Ukraine, Belorussia, Bulgaria, and Georgia seen as “little brothers”, which have entailed the authority of “the big brother” and the obedience of “little brothers”. Various discourse techniques of irony, negation, ridicules and reprimands have also been utilized to challenge the role distribution and the prototype of “ideal family” in political argumentations to achieve the desired political purposes. The research of A’Beckett (2012) has contributed to the study of FAMILY metaphors in European political discourse with her arguments that metaphorical entailments can be adjusted through linguistic techniques for the realization of argumentative purposes, and a metaphor’s interpretative potential and scope of application can be expanded by the ongoing play of voices around the metaphor.

Even though few scholarly studies have been devoted to the exploration of FAMILY metaphors in Chinese, researchers within and outside the Chinese speaking academic community have investigated rhetorical devices and the use of figurative language in Chinese political discourse (Magagnin 2016), from which discussions of FAMILY metaphors and their functions in Chinese political practice can be observed. As mentioned in the previous discussions of the Chinese character 家(jiā) and proved by the research of Feng (2011), the origin of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor can be traced back to the Zhou dynasty (1046 B.C.—256 B.C.), when the patriarchal system was established and political relations evolved around the family and blood ties of kinship. The Chinese compound 国家(guó jiā) seems to record and pass on to modern times the cultural legacy of the ancient Chinese conception of a country/state/nation as a continuation of a family with shared structures, and the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor is activated constantly and unconsciously whenever the compound 国家(guó jiā) (country-family) is in use to refer to a country/state/nation in Chinese verbal communication. It is widely known from the classical Confucian teachings that the hierarchical father-son relationship with an emphasis on the son’s obedience (Hamilton 1990) metaphorically equates the subject-ruler relationship in China, and FAMILY metaphors are of great importance in governing the country and creating the Chinese sense of national belonging (Duara 1996; Carsten 2004; Li 2006; Steinmüller 2015).

In a culture that pays great attention to family unity, harmony and stability, FAMILY metaphors are broadly used in Chinese political discourse to achieve intended political goals, especially in the controversial political discussions about national sovereignty, independence and cross-straits (Taiwan and mainland China) issues (Liu 2002; Li 2006; Cheng 2009). From the political corpus with data from 760 selected political articles in Chinese newspapers and magazines published from 1997 to June 2007, Cheng (2009) has identified several FAMILY metaphors such as CHINA IS A BIG FAMILY, CHINESE PEOPLE ARE FAMILY MEMBERS, THE TWO SIDES ARE SIBLINGS, TAIWAN IS A CHILD OF CHINA, and CHINA IS A PARENT. All these FAMILY metaphors can imply the inseparable and affectionate familial bonds between Taiwan and mainland China that may justify the unification policy held by China’s central government and defy Taiwan’s independence on the ground that family members of common ancestry should stay together rather than be separated, so the rejection of unification is regarded as a sad betrayal of family origins. Besides, the employment of the LEADER AS A FATHER and FOREIGN COUNTRY AS A PARENT SUBSTITUTE/A CLOSE RELATIVE metaphors may also indicate the parental responsibilities of Taiwan leaders and criticize the malicious intervention of the

United States of America and Japan in the political issues related to Taiwan. Moreover, the research of Kou and Farkas (2014) has not only confirmed the use of the conventional COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor in the annual work reports of China's central government from the year 2004 to 2012 but also observed elements of Lakoff's two family/moral models from those actions the Chinese state can perform as both a supportive nurturer of its people and a controlling implementer of political policies. Contrary to Lakoff's (1996) intuitive assumption about the dominance of the Strict Father model in Chinese politics, no conspicuous dominance of either model has been indicated clearly in the nine years of government's work reports, and there is a tendency of favoring political expressions that are usually associated with the Nurturant Parent model of morality to mobilize the joint efforts of the masses for realizing the political goals of social stability and national prosperity. After all, the common use of FAMILY metaphors in Chinese political discourse echoes the Chinese culture's preference of modeling political relations upon family relations and helps to legitimate political aims through those emotions, attitudes and expected behaviors underlying those FAMILY metaphors adopted by politicians.

What's more, empirical research has shown the changing ideas about FAMILY metaphors in contemporary Chinese political discourse, though the Chinese nation and the family remain inseparable (Li 2006), and FAMILY metaphors still prevail in Chinese political reasoning. Despite the attacks of the Communist Revolution on the traditional Confucian family values, FAMILY metaphors have been used to fulfill new political intentions such as the intensification of people's emotional links to the Chinese nation and the promotion of the national leader with an endearing parental role that deserves adoration of the masses (Link 2013; McCormack and Blair 2015; Steinmüller 2015). Steinmüller (2015: 84-85) believes "the core kinship metaphors and the emotions they imply are manipulated and negotiated in Confucian treatises on filial piety, in Maoist campaigns, and in the contemporary propaganda discourse on 'the Chinese Dream'<sup>5</sup>". In his exploration about the historical transformation of the LEADER AS A FATHER and COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphors in China with linguistic examples from emotional discourse and discourses on emotions, Steinmüller (2015) has demonstrated that kinship and FAMILY metaphors have continued to be salient in contemporary Chinese political discourse in order to effectively harness emotions for the successful rule of the country and simultaneously establish a favorable image of paternal intimacy and authority for national leaders, but an ongoing process of "vernacularization and sentimentalization" has been observed in the wide application of kinship and FAMILY metaphors in the vernacular language, political propagandas and school education, where the emotions invoked by these metaphors have shifted their focus on moral indebtedness and emotional attachment instead of obedience and propriety required by Confucian filial piety. Furthermore, Steinmüller has discovered that "the emotions mobilized by the family-state metaphors are characterized by a heightened sense of ambivalence" (Steinmüller 2015: 96) due to the mixed feelings produced by conscious power negotiations and staged performances in contemporary Chinese political practice when compared to Maoist political ideology and governance.

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<sup>5</sup> "The Chinese dream" has become a key term in the contemporary Chinese political discourse (Steinmüller 2015), which has been created to articulate a vision for the nation's future by the present Chairman of the People's Republic of China since 2012. According to Xi's elaboration on the Chinese Dream in his speech at the closing ceremony of the First Session of the 12th National People's Congress in 2013, the Chinese dream integrates the lofty aspirations of individuals for personal well-being and the political goals of national rejuvenation and prosperity, so it is a dream for both the Chinese nation and its people that calls for peace, development, cooperation, happiness, and mutual benefit and progress for all.

Magagnin (2016: 345) also claims that “the progressive construction of a new political, socio-economic and cultural context in the post-Mao era” has brought the “renegotiation or obsolescence of certain concepts and models” that can be “detected from the changes in the vocabulary and rhetorical patterns” of the Chinese political discourse. With a corpus consisting of official speeches delivered at the 1982 and 2012 CPC (Communist Party of China) Congresses, Magagnin (2016) has confirmed that the most striking transformation is the greater metaphorical density in the 2012 report with a systematic, quantitative growth in metaphor tokens and productivity, and FAMILY ranks middle in terms of tokens and productivity among ten major source domains identified from the corpus. The research of Šebok (2017) about the present Chinese Chairman Xi’s speeches shares similar findings of Magagnin (2016), showing that there is a tendency of applying a complex network of various metaphors in contemporary Chinese political discourse to convey political purposes and strengthen the effects of political rhetoric. Both Magagnin (2016) and Šebok (2017) have found out that key Chinese words like 同胞(tóng bāo) (compatriot), 侨胞(qiáo bāo) (overseas compatriots), 儿女(ér nǚ) (sons and daughters), 家园(jiā yuán) (home) and 祖国(zǔ guó) (the ancestor country) are main linguistic manifestations of FAMILY metaphors, which play a vital role in reinforcing social solidarity, national unity, political obligations and emotional connections. It is also noticed that FAMILY is definitely not the most frequently used source domain in spite of its prominence in contemporary Chinese political discourse because the source domain of JOURNEY, HUMAN BODY, WAR and BUILDING enjoy a higher frequency and productivity to highlight the crucial importance of the government’s political tasks. The fulfillment of these tasks can certainly bring glory but call for a long-term, hard struggle of the whole nation. However, it is assumed that the absence of 国家(guó jiā) in the counting of metaphorical expressions is one reason for the relatively low occurrence of FAMILY metaphors in the studies of Magagnin (2016) and Šebok (2017), but 国家(guó jiā) is qualified to be a metaphorical expression that deserves more attention in empirical research of Chinese FAMILY metaphors, since the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor has been lexicalized into the compound.

Comparative studies have also shown that even though FAMILY is often used as a source domain to conceptualize abstract concepts because of people’s familiarity with it, FAMILY metaphors seem to embody positive attitudes or emotional feelings and hold more importance with a wider application in Chinese speaking communities than in other cultures. It has been discussed that the application of family terms and FAMILY metaphors in European political discourse may arouse attitudinal bias (Schäffner 1996; Musolff 2004, 2006) and worries about forced obligations or deprivation of individuality (A’Beckett 2012). Lauenstein’s (2013) research has further demonstrated the frequent use of FAMILY metaphors as a means of mobilization in European politics, with a confirmation that FAMILY metaphors may contribute little to national identification but elicit negative associations with Nazism or nationalism. Farkas has also denied the prevalence of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor in Hungarian political discourse, and she believes that the BIG BROTHER metaphor in the Communist era only appears occasionally in jokes nowadays, which has a negative implication about the weakness of Hungary’s national power (Kou and Farkas 2014). On the other hand, both Chinese and western scholars have verified the salient preference of FAMILY metaphors in China and the positive functions of FAMILY metaphors in enhancing national identification and emotional attachment in Chinese political discourse (see Duara 1996; Liu 2002; Li 2006; Cheng 2009; Link 2013; McCormack and Blair 2015; Steinmüller 2015). Not



only the country is understood and run as a family but also the leadership of the Communist Party is comprehended through the CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY IS A FAMILY metaphor which can promote a desirable image of cohesion and continuity with familial affection (Cheng 2009; Šebok 2017). The centrality of FAMILY in the Chinese people's life as the prototype to comprehend the outer world along with the positive cultural values attributed to the family may explain the affirmative associations evoked by Chinese FAMILY metaphors.

Except studies of FAMILY metaphors in political discourse, the application of Chinese FAMILY metaphors in other domains has caught researchers' attentions as well. Cao (2005) has taken notice of the use of FAMILY metaphors in the Chinese religious communities abroad and commented that Chinese FAMILY metaphors have helped to establish a "sinicized", "authority-oriented" Christianity that can facilitate the acceptance of a foreign religion and strengthen ethnic attachment to the Chinese heritage among Chinese immigrants by incorporating the Chinese identities with the Christian belief through the analogy between the Chinese parent-child relationship and the Christian God-human relationship. In his research with interview texts, it has been discovered that the working class Chinese immigrant youth with Christian belief have relied on the Chinatown church characterized by its use of CHURCH AS SURROGATE FAMILY and PASTOR AS FOSTER FATHER metaphors for survival and successful adaptation in a foreign country. Unlike the parents of the middle class Asian American families and immigrant families of Korean and Vietnam nationalities who can offer more parental resources, the parents of the working class Chinese immigrant families need to work long hours to make a living, so they can hardly provide enough familial support, parental guidance and face-to-face emotional interactions to keep their children away from the risk of downward assimilation to gang culture. However, the missing role of an authoritarian father has been taken up voluntarily by the pastor of the Chinatown church, who has endeavored to portray his church as a family in his sermons and various church activities in order to create a space for open emotional exchanges. The pastor has also provided guidance for those disadvantaged Chinese immigrant youth living on the margin with parental support and protection they need to regain a sense of belonging and bonds of affection, rebuild their cultural confidence and social identities, and overcome the gaps of acculturation on their path of upward assimilation. The metaphors of CHURCH AS SURROGATE FAMILY and PASTOR AS FOSTER FATHER not only appeal to the working class Chinese immigrant youth who are in urgent need of parental protection and supervision but also reflect the traditional Chinese family values concerning patriarchal authority and the Chinese cultural custom of extending kinship relations to social communities through metaphorical reasoning.

The prevalence of the Chinese SOCIETY AS FAMILY metaphor has been investigated carefully by Li (2006) who has regarded it as a cardinal conceptual metaphor for the Chinese people to perceive their social life and their ways of living as social beings. In his view, developing from both the Confucian Doctrine and the Chinese culture that thrives on self-contained, small-scale family-based agricultural economy, the Chinese concept of FAMILY has taken on special cultural meanings, values and important social functions since ancient times. The FAMILY concept has been so deep-rooted in the Chinese mind that it has become a prototype for modeling Chinese society, with its metaphorical projections on Chinese society "evidenced in the institutional practice, patterns of social relations and general outlook of the Chinese" (Li 2006: 118). According to Li (2006), the FAMILY concept permeates every aspect of Chinese society, so the SOCIETY AS FAMILY metaphor is at work in all types of Chinese social interactions which also explains the prominent application of kinship and FAMILY

metaphors in political discourse to address domestic and international issues, the extended use of kinship terms as appellations for non-relatives as well as the special establishment of “family-like work-unit” with a family manner in human relations that is rarely seen in western work cultures. Moreover, it has been suggested that the ubiquitous SOCIETY AS FAMILY metaphor may transfer simultaneously all the defining structural and operational principles of the typical Chinese family, including strong affiliation, heavy interdependence, distinctive power relationships and a hierarchical structure, to social relations at different levels of Chinese institutions from the central government and local administration to the smallest business and public organizations. The long-lasting pursuit of family harmony has been mapped onto the goal of social harmony to maintain social stability and unity, and the family roles prescribed by traditional Chinese values have been projected onto people’s social roles, so people with power or in management should work like parents to provide familial protection and care, while people under leadership should be obedient, submissive and respectful to authoritative social members. The fulfillment of such role expectations in social life is rendered as the way to achieve social order and harmony, and the best honor a person can expect and receive from others is to be treated as a good family member who has implemented the responsibilities associated with his or her social roles according to the judging standards of the Chinese family morality.

Furthermore, Li (2006) believes that the Chinese family outlook is fundamentally important to regulate the norms of the Chinese interpersonal relationship and model pseudo relations within the schema of family relations, since the Chinese people comprehend their social experience through their understanding of FAMILY, and the conception of FAMILY has motivated a series of kinship and FAMILY metaphors in Chinese such as SOCIETY IS FAMILY, COUNTRY/STATE/NATION IS FAMILY, THE WORLD IS FAMILY, ALL CHINESE DECEDENTS ARE SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF THE CHINESE STATE, PEOPLE UNDER THE SUN ARE BROTHERS, COUNTRY IS MOTHER, THE LEADING PARTY IS MOTHER, SOLDIERS ARE FAMILIES, A WORK-UNIT IS FAMILY, SCHOOL IS FAMILY and STUDENTS ARE SIBLINGS. These are all conventional metaphors that have been applied to various occasions of social communication. However, the significance of the FAMILY concept and the wide application of FAMILY metaphors in Chinese have not been shared by other cultures. As proved by the comparative research of Tian and Yang (2017) about conceptual metaphors in Chinese and American commencement speeches, FAMILY has been a commonly used source domain in Chinese commencement speeches, and the university has been conceptualized metaphorically as a family with the teachers being the parents and the classmates being brothers and sisters. In their argument, the conventional use of the UNIVERSITY AS FAMILY metaphor in Chinese can promote the students’ love for their university in terms of family love but American commencement speeches have not displayed the application of the metaphor, showing that the FAMILY concept and the model of family relations are not preferred to conceptualize human relations at school or work place in the American culture.

The previous studies have so far successfully depicted the composition, the structure, the values and the particular features of the Chinese family that have distinguished itself from families of other cultures, and FAMILY as a concept representing the characteristics of the Chinese ethical rules and cultural beliefs has been not only understood through metaphorical conceptualizations but also used as a common source domain for the Chinese people to interpret their life experience figuratively. The undying interest in the Chinese family and the significance of FAMILY in the Chinese culture have greatly inspired the present research that

aims to provide a comparatively systematic description about the figurative conceptions of the FAMILY concept in modern Mandarin Chinese with empirical evidence and make a contribution to the increasing literature about the institution of family and the concept of FAMILY in China.

## **Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework of the Present Research**

### **1. A cognitive linguistic approach to the comprehension of FAMILY**

With the publication of Lakoff's *Metaphors We Live By*, *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things: What categories Reveal about the Mind* and Langacker's *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar* in the 1980s, cognitive linguistics emerged as a new approach to language research that tried to explain the complex relationship between human cognition, language and culture. Benefiting from the breakthrough of cognitive science, cognitive linguistics has developed into a much more matured linguistic research field nowadays whose evident interdisciplinary nature has been fully exhibited in an ever growing number of research literature produced by the collaboration of scholars from other disciplines such as anthropology, psychology, neurology and other schools of linguistics. Moreover, experiments, electronic data and computational methods engaged recently have provided empirical and statistic evidence to support discoveries from cognitive linguistic studies (Nuyts 1993; Gibbs 2007). In order to reveal the intricate interplay between cultural, social values and people's comprehension of FAMILY in China, the present research has adopted the theoretical framework of cognitive linguistics which has been believed to be capable of integrating a sound research methodology and systematic analysis into the description of the richness and complexity of language in a particular culture, with comprehensive considerations of social-cultural variations as well as the universality that arises from the shared physiological structures of the human brain and body (Kövecses 2005; Yu 2003a, 2003b, 2008a, 2008b; Musolff 2010).

#### **1.1 The definition of cognitive linguistics**

Cognitive linguistics has been defined as “a linguistic theory which analyzes language in its relation to other cognitive domains and faculties such as bodily and mental experiences, image-schemas, perception, attention, memory, viewing frames, categorization, abstract thought, emotion, reasoning, inferencing, etc.... They are all one in cognition”, and cognitive linguistics “approaches language as an integrated part of human cognition which operates in interaction with and on the basis of the same principles as other cognitive faculties”, so it is an approach that is “in contrast to most previous linguistic paradigms, which saw meaning either as less relevant or else as an autonomous linguistic module” (Dirven 2005: 17-18). Embedded in cognitive science, cognitive linguistics does not dwell in the realm of formal structures but deals with how human beings actually make sense of the world through their experience of interaction with the world, so it can capture the richness of human understanding and the interpretation of meaning neglected by the Chomskyan linguists (Fesmire 1994b).

Kövecses (2006, 2010a, 2015) has also asserted that cognitive linguistics can be seen as a theory of meaning-making that is able to be applied to a larger scope in human life, since it is a scientific endeavor to account for the meaningfulness of human experience even the name limits its scope to issues of language only. It attempts to describe and explain language use with reference to a number of cognitive processes, and such attempts are seen as the

major difference between cognitive linguistics and other linguistic schools because according to cognitive linguists, these cognitive processes are possessed by humans independently of their ability of using language to make sense of their life experience, including language. In addition, categorization, framing, metonymy, metaphor, image schema and conceptual integration are major cognitive mechanisms discussed extensively as devices for conceptualizing human interactive experience with the world in the literature of cognitive linguistics where culture also plays an important role in people's decision of adopting these meaning-making cognitive mechanisms that may lead to differences in the use of categories and language. The interweaving relationship between mind, language and culture is thus interpreted systematically within the theoretical framework of cognitive linguistics.

Given its interdisciplinary nature, cognitive linguistics offers a proper theoretical framework for the investigation of the FAMILY concept in the Chinese language, since previous scholarly studies about the Chinese family have demonstrated that the understanding of the FAMILY concept may involve knowledge of various disciplines like Chinese history, culture, sociology, philosophy and ethics. Moreover, as put by Hasson and Giora (2007: 302), "one of the central assumptions underlying research in cognitive linguistics is that language use reflects conceptual structure, and that therefore the study of language can inform us of the mental structures on which language is based. One of the goals of the field is therefore to properly determine what sort of mental representations are constructed by various sorts of linguistic utterances". With the exploration of the cognitive processes and the cognitive meaning-making devices involved, cognitive linguistics theories can interpret how the FAMILY concept is mentally constructed in the Chinese mind through the linguistic study of the key Chinese word 家(jiā), and help to detect the cultural values and social beliefs embedded in the Chinese FAMILY concept as well.

## **1.2 Experientialism, gestalt theory and the Chinese holistic thinking**

Cognitive linguistics takes experientialism as its philosophical position, which was developed in the last twenty years of the twentieth century by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson who have opposed the objectivist tradition and regarded human understanding as reaching deep into our natural and social environment for its structure (Leddy 1995). With a comparison of the objectivist and experientialist approaches to the mind, Kövecses (2006) has summarized that the experientialist answers differ systematically from the objectivist answers about all major issues concerning the nature of mind, language and meaning. In the experientialist view, the human mind is embodied and holistic instead of being transcendent and modular, and both truth and meaning are relative to how bodily experience is conceptualized. Therefore, external reality is not independent from human beings but construed on experience, and the outer world is not an objective reality simply mirrored by the human mind but a projected reality created imaginatively by the human mind upon bodily experience in alternative ways through cognitive processes and mechanisms. Moreover, as the linguistic system human beings use to structure the world and express meaning deriving from embodiment, language "operates on the basis of the same principles that other cognitive faculties of the mind use", and "the key component of language is not form but meaning and conceptualization" (Kövecses 2006: 11-12). In other words, the human mind, reasoning patterns, concepts and language are all grounded on people's bodily experience and their interactions with the physical, social and cultural environment but are constrained as well by

the human body and its functions that may lead to universal conceptualizations. Since human cognition is embodied, the analyzing tools provided by cognitive linguistics such as metaphor, metonymy and blending can “uncover and trace the embodied origins of the products of the human mind across cultures and across times” (Slingerland 2011: 27).

The holistic view of the mind has its psychological origin in gestalt psychology which is an important school of psychological studies that has greatly contributed to cognitive linguistics research, with the concept of gestalt first employed by Ehrenfels (1890) and gestalt theory developed by Wertheimer (1912, 1923), Koffka (1935) and Köhler (1947, 1969) (Geeraerts and Cuyckens 2007). Gestalt can be understood as a unified or meaningful whole, and gestalt psychology has the main tenet of emphasizing the whole is more than the sum of its parts (Peng and Nisbett 1999), which indicates that the analysis of the parts in isolation may not deduce properties of the whole because the whole can carry greater or even different meaning than its constituting parts. In the realm of cognitive linguistic research, Talmy (1975) has been the first to approach linguistics with insights from gestalt psychology in his detailed discussion of constitutive construals (Dirven 2004; Croft and Cruse 2004), and both the notion of gestalt and many principles of gestalt psychology have been successfully applied in various research areas including categorization, prototype formation, image schemas, context, conceptual metaphor, conceptual blending and construction grammar because gestalt psychology’s principles such as proximity, similarity, closure, figure-ground distinction and good continuation have offered reasonable interpretations about how the human mind manages to organize apparently chaotic or fragmented perceptual elements into a holistic construal of a complex object (Dirven 2004; Ungerer and Schmid 2006; Geeraerts and Cuyckens 2007). Gestalt psychology underlies the cognitive linguistic approach to analyzing language in its relation to other cognitive domains and faculties, with perception, action and language considered as one common holistic configuration in cognition (Dirven 2004; Violi 2004).

Neither experientialism nor gestalt theory is alien to the Chinese people, since the traditional Chinese philosophy is embodied and experiential in nature, and presents a holistic reasoning style by regarding human beings and the outer world as one harmonious unit. It has been widely acknowledged that the ancient Chinese people traditionally understand themselves and the world through their sensorimotor bodily experience (Jia 2008), and “Confucianism and Taoism embody the major native philosophical traditions that have shaped and permeated Chinese culture for more than two millennia” (Sun 2009: 273). Confucianism sets up a hierarchical social system with distinct social roles for each citizen, so individual identity is largely defined by contextualized, interwoven human relationships; while Taoism provides its central principle of the unity of opposites (the integration of *yin* and *yang*) to illustrate the interdependence and connections of humans, objects, events, human society and the natural world, indicating that everything is interrelated and inseparable as part of the whole universe seen as a single unity actively constituted by opposites of *yin* and *yang* (Peng and Nisbett 1999; Jia 2008; Sun 2009). The early holistic thinking has subsequently influenced various social activities, especially the Chinese military strategy and the traditional Chinese medical diagnoses and therapies (Liu 2009). As claimed by Slingerland (2011: 7), with a holistic, embodied and non-dualist model of cognition, the early Chinese thought has “focused on philosophical problematiques and developed styles of self-cultivation that modern scholars of cognitive science and moral psychology are now gradually coming to appreciate”.

Moreover, a variety of philosophical and psychological studies have also offered substantial evidence to support the claims that the cognitive features and philosophical traditions of the ancient Chinese people indeed persist, and the Chinese people in modern times are still characterized by a holistic thinking style that is in stark contrast to the analytic reasoning pattern in Western cultures (Peng and Nisbett 1999; Nisbett et al. 2001; Norenzayan et al. 2002). The holistic thinking involves “an orientation to the context or field as a whole, including attention to relationship between a focal object and field, and a preference for explaining and predicting events on the basis of such relationships”, while the analytic thinking involves “detachment of the object from its context, a tendency to focus on attributes of the object in order to assign it to categories, and a preference for using rules about the categories to explain and predict the object’s behavior” (Nisbett et al. 2001: 293). Being associative and dialectical, the Chinese holistic thinking relies on experience-based knowledge to draw inferences and attributes to contexts or situations for causal assessments of outcomes with an emphasis on change, a recognition of contradiction and the need of alternative perspectives, whereas the analytic thinking is dualistic with avoidance of contradiction in reasoning, and it draws inferences from decontextualizing structure from content with the utilization of formal logic and attributes to dispositions of the target object for causal assessments (Peng and Nisbett 1999; Nisbett et al. 2001).

According to Nisbett et al. (2001: 291-293), the considerable social differences in different cultures are the fundamental reason for salient distinctions in people’s “naïve metaphysical system”, “tacit epistemologies” and “the nature of their cognitive processes”. The western civilization evolves from the Greek civilization that locates the power in the individual without social constraints on individual freedom of choices, which gives rise to the analytic thinking to understand the world through creating causal models of the objects and events with logical rules generated for systematic interpretation (Nisbett et al. 2001). However, the ancient, hierarchical Chinese society assigns each individual prescriptive social roles with expected behaviors, and individuals live as part of a large, complex and collective unit of social relation network which values in-group harmony and fulfillment of social obligations but discourages overt confrontations, so the world has been viewed by the ancient Chinese people as “a collection of overlapping and interpenetrating stuffs or substances” (Hansen 1983:30). Such understanding about the continuity as the nature of matter and the importance of relations in social life have resulted in the Chinese way of reasoning that interprets objects and events in terms of all the relationships among them in the context where they are located (Nisbett et al. 2001). Instead of developing any western systems of formal logic, the Chinese people have developed a holistic thinking style based on intuition and empiricism that “rests on the assumption that everything exists in the mystical integration of *yin* and *yang*, entities that are opposed to one another and yet also are connected in time and space as a whole” (Peng and Nisbett 1999: 743). Thus, the full knowledge about anything is acquired through knowing all the relations about it, a practice echoing the emphasis of gestalt psychology that the whole is more than the sum of its parts.

Furthermore, language differences are believed to reflect and sustain the cognitive differences in reasoning (Nisbett et al. 2001; Jia 2008; Liu 2009). Both the analytic Western alphabet and the grammar of Indo-European languages contribute to the development of analytic thinking with the logical notion that the reality is composed of a limited number of basic building elements, but the Chinese language is essentially pictographic and highly contextual due to the minimal nature of syntax which encourages the holistic thinking that

views the reality as continuous and interpenetrating (Nisbett et al. 2001; Liu 2009). The cognitive process involved in the formation of the Chinese characters is more synthetic than that in the word-formation with Western alphabet letters, and the meanings of the Chinese words can only be understood in context, so the Chinese language motivates and operates on a part-whole dichotomy that reflects and enhances the Chinese philosophical position of regarding the universe as a greater unity consisting of integral parts of humans and nature (Hansen 1983; Nisbett et al. 2001; Jia 2008; Liu 2009). Cognitive characteristics and philosophical beliefs embedded in social concepts and practices are comparatively stable (Nisbett et al. 2001) and can be passed on by languages and cultural customs, so a linguistic study of a socio-cultural concept like FAMILY may bring interesting discoveries about the interaction of human cognition and social environment. It seems to be more appropriate to investigate the Chinese FAMILY concept in the framework of cognitive linguistics, since cognitive linguistics shares the philosophical and psychological background with the Chinese traditions underlying the Chinese socio-cultural concepts, and thus can better explain the cognitive and cultural roots of the Chinese conception of FAMILY.

### **1.3 Categorization, mental frames and image-schemas**

From the perspective of cognitive linguistics, both concrete and abstract concepts make up the human conceptual system that can be regarded as the way in which the human brain organizes knowledge about the world. The human conceptual system is not only a flexible system that allows alternative construals of the same reality through cognitive mechanisms but also an embodied system based on perceptual experience rather than on “symbolic system” held by objectivists, with concepts and perceptual experience being analogously related instead of having an arbitrary relationship between each other (Kövecses 2015). Moreover, categorization and framing are seen as important construal mechanisms humans rely on to organize their life experience into concepts because human meaning-making process depends in part on how entities and events in the world are categorized, and the emergence, existence and often the resolution of cultural and social issues arise from the nature of the categories which are mentally represented as frames, schemas or models (Kövecses 2006; 2015).

Humans categorize objects and events automatically and unconsciously to survive and understand the world. Unlike the classical view of categorization that defines categories by their essential features, cognitive linguistics holds a rival view called prototype categorization which defines conceptual categories “not in terms of necessary and sufficient conditions but with respect to prototypes and various family resemblance relations to these prototypes” (Kövecses 2006: 23). A prototype is defined as a single, centralized category representation, and it is the best example of a conceptual category (Kövecses 2015). Philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein has been the first to notice the crack in the classical theory of categorization with his analysis of the GAME category which has neither fixed category boundary nor any common properties shared by all category members (Lakoff 1987; Kövecses 2006). He has concluded that family resemblance holds all instances of the category, with members of a family resembling one another and no single collection of fixed set of properties possessed by every family member. Studies of Berlin and Kay on the category of COLOR and Rosch’s experiments have also proved that a category usually has central members, and other members of a category share graded resemblance to the central members. These central



members are prototypes that determine a category and how people think about other members of the category. The notion of prototype can be also applied to linguistic categories, and various senses of a word can be regarded as a category of senses organized around a central prototypical sense, with non-prototypical senses deriving from the prototypical sense as metaphorical or metonymic extensions that can better explain the phenomenon of polysemy in language (Kövecses 2006).

Furthermore, categorization emerges from human experience as a function of interactional properties, so categories are subject to changes despite of their apparent stability over a period of time (Leddy 1995). Besides, varieties in personal experience and cognition are sure to influence the construction of individual mental representations of a category, so “most categories are not represented by stable abstract prototypes but by flexible and temporary mental representations produced by individuals in context” (Kövecses 2006: 28). Categorization also has a hierarchy in which the highest-level category is the most general or abstract while the lower categories are less general or abstract, and a theory of basic-level categorization is introduced to “account for the psychological primacy of the middle level by claiming that this is the level where categories can simultaneously meet two basic demands: the pressure for maximal similarity among category members and the pressure of maximal dissimilarity between neighboring categories” (Kövecses 2006: 48). Moreover, culture can be a crucial factor to determine prototypes of categories and explain “why people categorize particular objects and events at particular levels of abstraction” (Kövecses 2006: 48).

Defined as structured mental representations of a coherent organization of human experience that capture prototypes for conceptual categories, frames are shared cultural products that constitute a large part of human knowledge about the world, and they are very useful and important in areas of language understanding, categorization, conceptualization of the world and explanations of cultural behaviors (Kövecses 2006; 2015). The terms of “script, scenario, scene, cultural model, cognitive model, domain, schema, (experiential) gestalt” and others may convey roughly the same idea of a frame, and “an important property of frames is that they are idealized in several ways. Lakoff calls such idealizations ‘idealized cognitive models’” (Kövecses 2006: 64). Different cultures may have different idealized cognitive models, so a category might be framed in alternative ways and the meaning of a word are defined by the frames in which people conceptualize it. Most of the conventional categories are similarity-based but there are also frame-based categories formed on the basis of which things go commonly and repeatedly together in people’s experience (Kövecses 2006; 2015). Therefore, concepts can be seen as conceptual categories defined in terms of prototypes, with prototypical members of conceptual categories mentally presented as conceptual frames and non-prototypical members given as modifications or deviations from frames.

In addition, a concept is always a schematized version of all instances it denotes. A schema is a “cognitive construct, a configuration of knowledge” that humans “project on to events so as to bring them into alignment with familiar patterns of experience and belief” (Widdowson 2004: 43). “As a plan for action, a schema is dynamic, possessing its own logic and sets of expectations” (Slingerland 2011: 11), because a given schema has entailments such as “perceptions, discriminations, interests, values, beliefs, practices, and commitments” (Johnson 1987: 132) tied up with it. People have the ability to activate relevant schemas they already have in their mind to process incoming information more rapidly, since schemas allow people to assimilate incoming information to something they know and overlook all negligible details (Howard 1987; Littlemore 2003). Schemas are also culturally defined

because they are preconceived representations of the world socially shared by a particular community, and schemas are so deeply entrenched in people's consciousness and mind that they may impede people from recognizing alternative ways of thinking or require extra cognitive effort to interpret new information that does not correspond to the existing schemas (Littlemore 2003). As a particular class of schemas, image-schemas are "recurring, dynamic pattern of our perceptual interactions and motor programs that gives coherence to our experience" (Johnson 1987: xix), and CONTAINER, PART-WHOLE, CENTER-PERIPHERY, SOURCE-PATH-GOAL and LINK are five fundamental image-schemas that provide a large part of structured knowledge of the world (Kövecses 2006). Besides, FORCE-DYNAMIC image-schemas also take part in human's meaning-making activity, especially in accounting for thought, emotions, morality and the plot understanding in literature. Being embodied, highly abstract and imagistic in nature, image-schemas serve as an interface between the body and the world so that humans are able to understand both themselves and their various experiences in the world through themselves, and thus play an important role in human's efforts to contemplate abstract concepts and comprehend the meaning of many words in language (Kövecses 2006; Sharifian 2006).

The research about the Chinese thought and the Chinese language with its special writing system have fully supported the cognitive linguistic claims that human thought is imagistic and imaginative, and much of the human's knowledge and most abstract concepts are image-schematic. According to Jia (2008), image (象 *xiàng* in Chinese) as one of the most crucial concepts in traditional Chinese philosophy is vitally important in the formation of the Chinese thought and the Chinese way of making sense of the world. Meaning, inferences, conceptualizations and structured knowledge of the world all grow out of *Xiàng* (image), and the establishment of images in the Chinese cultural context may serve as the primary and fundamental image-schemas grounded upon human perceptual experience, involving both imagination and a cognitive process of "looking at things and seeking images through analogy" and "looking at images and grasping meaning" in the Chinese mind. Moreover, the Chinese written language also comes from images, with the formation of the Chinese characters developing from "pictorial images to pictographic characters and (imagery) concepts" (Jia 2008: 34). The Chinese character 家 (*jiā*) is also a pictographic symbol with its written shape taken from the images of a house roof and a pig, which is a direct product of looking at physical entities on earth to seek images and looking at images to contemplate meaning and express thought. The meanings of 家 (*jiā*) has developed into a semantic category of polysemy with its prototypical meaning of "family; home" and non-prototypical meaning extensions achieved through metaphor and metonymy (Zhou 2011; Feng 2011). Furthermore, the CONTAINER image-schema has been activated to understand the Chinese FAMILY concept *JIA* (Ye 2012), which is a conceptual category consisting of not only the family built upon blood ties and shared property but also the Confucian family values and obligations associated with the family (Zhou 2011). The prototypical Chinese family has changed from the traditional, multigenerational extended family with a strong hold of the Confucian ethics to the modern nuclear family with weaker influences of the Confucian family traditions as a result of the dramatic social changes in the past decades. The life experience in traditional Chinese society and the group-oriented Chinese culture with its emphasis on collectivism underlie the Chinese extension of the FAMILY concept to collective social groups or organizations (Zhou 2011). Therefore, previous research about the Chinese FAMILY concept has indicated that the cognitive linguistic views seem to be more convincing

in the analyses about the relations between the Chinese mind, culture and language.

#### **1.4 The cognitive linguistic theories of metaphor and metonymy**

Unlike the traditional view to regard metaphor as simply a figure of speech with rhetorical effects in language, cognitive linguists see metaphor as a matter of the structure of human thought, and metaphor is both a product of the human conceptual system and a useful cognitive tool for humans to understand abstract concepts. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 3-6) have pointed out that the essence of metaphor is “understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another”, and “metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action”, so “human thought processes are largely metaphorical” in nature, and “the human conceptual system is metaphorically structured and defined”. Kövecses (2010a: 7) has further defined a conceptual metaphor as “a set of systematic correspondences between the source and the target in the sense that constituent conceptual elements of concept B correspond to constituent elements of concept A”. These conceptual correspondences are technically referred to as mappings, and those mappings that are additional to the basic correspondences between source domains and target domains are called entailments or inferences (Kövecses 2003; 2010a). Metaphorical mappings are partial because “only a part of the source domain is utilized in every conceptual metaphor”, and several source domains are needed to conceptualize a target, since “each source domain can only structure certain aspects of a target; no source domain can structure, and thus provide full understanding for, all aspects of a target” (Kövecses 2010a: 103). With cross-domain mappings usually going from more concrete, physical domains (or concepts) to more abstract domains (or concepts), conceptual metaphors are unidirectional and “based on a variety of human experiences, including correlations in experience, various kind of nonobjective similarity, biological and cultural roots shared by the two concepts, and possibly others” (Kövecses 2010a: 79).

There are various ways to classify the types of metaphors, and it is possible for a metaphor to be a member of several types simultaneously in particular cases. Ontological metaphors “provide a certain ontological, or existential, status for the target domain” (Kövecses 2006: 128) as in the example “He has fear”, and they serve as ways of regarding intangible ideas, emotions, events and activities as metaphorical entities or substances (Lakoff 1980; Kövecses 2006). Structural metaphors are those in which “one concept is expressed in terms of a different structured, sharply defined concept” (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Hernández 2011: 164), as the mappings in ARGUMENT IS WAR. Orientational metaphors are metaphors with the source and the target concepts spatially related to each other, as in HAPPY IS UP/SAD IS DOWN (Lakoff 1980; Kövecses 2006; Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Hernández 2011). Image metaphors map “only the structure and visual attributes of a conceptual domain onto the structure and visual attributes of another domain”, as in the example “A horse with mane made of short rainbows” (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Hernández 2011: 164). Primary metaphors are defined as “metaphors which have a direct experiential basis, and which motivate highly predictable sets of data” (Grady 1997: 47). They “arise from experiential conflation, so they are correlational in nature (e.g., PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS)” (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Hernández 2011: 175). Primary metaphors can combine together to form more complex metaphors (e.g. the ‘conduit’ metaphor) which can be understood as compounds of primary metaphors (Grady 1997; Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Hernández 2011). A complex metaphor is made of “simple or

primary metaphors, the latter of which function as mappings within the complex one (e.g., LIFE IS A JOURNEY)” (Kövecses 2010a: 129). Metaphors are conventional or unconventional, depending on how entrenched and well-established a metaphor is in people’s conceptual system. Metaphors can be general or specific according to their generality. General metaphors have both “source and target domains as generic-level concepts (e.g., EVENTS ARE ACTIONS)”, while specific metaphors can be “regarded as instances of higher-level ones (e.g., DEATH IS DEPARTURE and BIRTH IS ARRIVAL)” (Kövecses 2006: 129).

Since human thought is grounded in perception and determined by the characteristics of people’s physical apparatus and social environment (Nuyts 1993), conceptual metaphors as products of human thought are both embodied and interactive because they emerge from people’s structured knowledge and interactions with their physical, cultural and interpersonal environments (Fesmire 1994a, 1994b). Moreover, conceptual metaphors operate largely below the level of human consciousness and function importantly in structuring people’s embodied understandings, making inferences, defining truth and building up reality, since people have the ability to apprehend the world and construe reality in a pluralist way through different metaphors that may capture different aspects of human experience and even bring forth new realities through the creation of new metaphors (Wheeler 1987; Leddy 1995). Generally considered as an essential tool in language, thought and communication, conceptual metaphors can help to achieve diverse communicative purposes because they are “divertive in literature and conversation, informative in news and science, persuasive in advertising, politics, and science, and instructive in education” (Steen 2008: 214). Linguistic research across a variety of languages has also proved the importance of conceptual metaphors in sign languages as well as their critical role in “motivating the creation and continued existence of systematic conventional expressions, polysemous words” and “many novel metaphors” (Gibbs 2007: 6). In addition to their varied linguistic manifestations in varied languages that may lead to various linguistic metaphors, conceptual metaphors can be realized through non-linguistic ways as presented by Kövecses (2010a) and Forceville (2006), including movies, pictures, music, acting, gestures, cartoons, drawings, sculptures, buildings, advertisements, myths, politics, social practices, cultural symbols and so on, which make it highly necessary to develop the sensitivity to conceptual metaphors in both language and non-linguistic areas of human experience.

On the other hand, regarded also as “a pervasive cognitive phenomenon in natural language and thought” (Panther 2005: 1) in the view of cognitive linguistics, metonymy is defined as “a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain, or ICM” (Kövecses and Radden 1998: 39). In other words, metonymy involves a single domain or domain matrix and allows people to give mental access to an element through another element related to it, where the relationship either is conventional in the conceptual system or can be easily figured out in a given context (Kövecses 2006). A metonymic relation is defeasible or cancelable because the relation between the metonymic source and the metonymic target is contingent rather than conceptually necessary, as shown by the standard examples of metonymy such as RESULT FOR ACTION, PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT, PART FOR WHOLE or CAUSE FOR EFFECT, in which the metonymic relation between source and target is based on contingent conceptual contiguity, and the strength of the metonymic link may depend on the conceptual distance between source and target and the salience of the metonymic source (Panther and Thornburg 2010). There is a demarcation problem between metaphor and metonymy, and the definition

of metonymy has undergone disputes from various approaches to metonymy research because there seems to be no clear boundary between metaphor and metonymy, and they usually interact intricately with each other both in language and thought. Many researchers have agreed that metaphor and metonymy exist in a continuum (Barcelona 2000; Geeraerts 2003; Velasco-Sacristán 2010), and metonymic relationships such as causation, whole-part and correlation can lead to the emergence of conceptual metaphors, so many metaphors may have a metonymic basis (Kövecses and Radden 1998; Kövecses 2010a; 2013). The interaction between metaphor and metonymy has been examined in Velasco-Sacristán's research about advertising gender metaphors where ideological metaphors in the discourse of advertising have presented a metonymic grounding, showing that metonymy is "one of the most fundamental processes of meaning extension" and the emergence of metaphor may depend on "a prior metonymic conceptualization" (Velasco-Sacristán 2010: 92).

In fact, the cognitive linguistic theories of metaphor and metonymy have been widely applied to studies of various aspects of language, socio-cultural rituals as well as other academic research domains, and the research findings have validated the advantages of conducting research within the cognitive linguistic framework and the claim that metaphor and metonymy are not confined by language but function as useful cognitive mechanisms for people to understand their various interactions with the outer world. Panther and Thornburg (2000) have proved that the RESULT FOR ACTION metonymy as a subtype of EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy has been systematically grammaticalized in English, and Ruiz de Mendoza and Pérez Hernández (2001) have explored the metonymic motivation of anaphora, grammatical recategorization and the development of specialized constructions. After studying the role of metonymy in visual art, Panther (2005: 10) has discovered that "EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy is a fundamental interpretive principle that people systematically use to make sense of pictorial representations". Moreover, Schäffner (2004) believes that a cognitive view of metaphor can provide new insights for Translation Studies concerning the validity of the translation procedures, and the explanation of the strategies chosen by translators to deal with metaphors and their effects on readers and cultures can also provide a valuable contribution to the study of metaphor. Niemeier (2005) and Holme (2012) have demonstrated that cognitive linguistics offers a new approach to foreign language teaching by breaking the traditional rigid distinction between grammar and lexis and highlighting the importance of acquiring knowledge of the culture-bound metaphors and metonymies as a part of language learning in order to avoid misunderstandings. Cognitive linguistics can also help teachers to devise "modes of instruction that are better attuned to the nature of the language" (Holme 2012: 6). The foregrounding communicative functions of metaphor and metonymy and their non-linguistic realizations have been discussed respectively with more details in Shie's (2011) research of news headlines, the study of advertising English carried out by Velasco-Sacristán and Fuertes-Olivera (2006) and the cross-cultural research of commercials conducted by Latolf and Bobrova (2012).

## **2. The important functions of context and culture**

Context and culture are interrelated, and they both play crucial roles in people's understanding and their mental process of achieving meaning in communication, especially in the Chinese culture where the intended interpretations are highly contextual and can only be reached through "selection of an appropriate set of contextual assumptions" (Wilson 1994: 41)

that usually contain unfixed socio-cultural conventions from which the online processing of language takes their bearings (Widdowson 2007). Cognitive linguistics has taken notice of the importance of context and culture in meaning-making procedure and incorporated the functions of context and culture in the analyses of conceptual metaphor and metonymy that have greatly contributed to the cross-cultural research with special attention paid to the contextual effects on people's figurative conceptualizations.

## **2.1 The definition of context and the notion of context in the Chinese mind**

It is very difficult to define context in academic science and language research because there is hardly any complete definition that is able to grasp all of its different demeanors. Having long been considered as an essential factor in the interpretation of linguistic expressions, context has become the focus issue of most linguistic trends since 1970s and obtained various definitions developed through various linguistic approaches (Requejo 2007). Linguist Firth has taken the initiative to start the inquiry of context and define it as an abstract "schematic construct to apply to language events" (Firth 1957: 182). It has been widely acknowledged by later linguistic research that the understanding of the meanings of linguistic units depends on people's knowledge of the language and their relevant knowledge of the world along with the context in which language events take place (Bransford and Johnson 1972; Fillmore 1977, 1985; Schank and Abelson 1977). Unlike other linguistic approaches in which context is typically seen as a *posteriori* for people to get the right meaning when they fail to understand linguistic expressions directly, cognitive linguistics has always held the view of integrating context into meaning, and context has been interpreted in its broadest sense that includes roughly anything which may affect the meaning of a linguistic unit, with a widely agreed division of "linguistic and situational context: Linguistic context would encompass the phonetic, morphological, syntactic or textual material surrounding to the word, whereas situational context entails anything to do with the immediate situation and the socio-cultural background in which the language event takes place" (Requejo 2007: 171).

In spite of the difficulty in producing a well-accepted definition for context, it is possible to distinguish those varied definitions of context from "the perspective the notion is described" and "the levels of mental programming they account for", and cognitive linguistics is a type of "analyst-oriented approach" in which "the researcher assigns relevance and determines context off-line", so context is seen as "structured abstractions" that may "cover the universal and the cultural levels of mental programming" and created by "using linguistic data to examine the relationship between language and cognition in order to establish the cognitive models and principles which contribute to the creation and understanding of meaning" (Illés 2012: 21-23). Kövecses (2005, 2012, 2015) has elaborated the cognitive linguistic view of context and claimed that context is equally important as embodiment. In his opinion, context "ranges from global to local": Global context is "the general knowledge" shared by the whole group of people, which is "essentially a shared system of concepts in long-term memory" that affects all group members and includes physical environment, social factors, cultural context, differential memory (history) and differential concerns and interests, while the local context is "the specific knowledge that pertains to a specific situation involving particular individuals" (Kövecses 2012: 29), which contains immediate physical setting, knowledge about major entities in the discourse, personal concern, immediate cultural context, immediate social setting and immediate

linguistic context (Kövecses 2015). Thus, the definition of context becomes very broad yet covers very specific fields, with culture, society, ideology, history, physical world and environment, personal concerns and interests, conventional knowledge in mind, conceptual system, human body and experience, language knowledge, immediate settings of communications and so on all considered as contextual factors that constitute and influence people's understanding of their life experience (Kövecses 2015).

Cognitive linguistic views about context and meaning seem to be closer to the Chinese understanding of the issues concerned, and thus are more suitable to explore the Chinese language and the Chinese mind. The Chinese people are characterized by holistic thinking that attends to the perceptual environment and cognitive field as a whole and assigns causality to it (Peng and Nisbett 1999; Nisbett et al. 2001), which also holds that everything is interrelated, so "anything regarded in isolation is distorted because the parts are meaningful only in their relations to the whole", and the whole is not a simple addition of the parts but "more than the sum of its parts" (Peng and Nisbett 1999: 743). Born from the Chinese holistic thinking and epistemology, the Chinese language is highly contextual due to the multiple meanings of words and the minimal nature of syntax, so context is crucial to the meaning selection of a polysemous word and the correct understanding of Chinese sentences (Nisbett et al. 2001). Echoing the Chinese way of holistic thinking and the Chinese understanding of part-and-whole relations, cognitive linguistics also takes on a holistic view and pays more attention to the interdependent relationship between lexical concepts and linguistic units, pointing out that meaning is constructed online in context but not contained in words, and the meaning of a word or a sentence is a Gestalt that cannot be seen as an addition of the meaning of its parts and understood in isolation (Talmy 2000; Croft and Cruse 2004) because all lexical concepts presuppose each other, and context indeed plays a major role in selecting the right sense among all possible senses of a sentence or a polysemous word (Requejo 2007).

Moreover, cognitive linguistics considers context as an essential part of meaning, and it comes first in real life to guide meaning construction online, with the communication participants' cognitive capacities, perceptions and encyclopaedic knowledge all regarded as contextual factors that can affect the process of meaning construction (Requejo 2007). Being situation-centered and obliged to be sensitive to their environment (Nisbett et al. 2001), the Chinese people share the same view of context as that of cognitive linguistics because context ranks first in drawing meaning in a society featured by indirect communication based on a complex system of interdependent relationships with a highly contextual language. Context is always considered as an inseparable part of meaning, since objects and events are only meaningful in a certain context, and it is not possible to acquire meaning in real life without knowing all contextual factors such as the relations among objects and events as well as the important elements of the entire environment/field where objects and events exist. Therefore, the Chinese people have developed cognitive habits of processing the environment deeply and explaining events with reference to the field (Nisbett et al. 2001) so that they can construct meaning online effectively. Psychological studies have also provided considerable evidence that the Chinese people tend to group things upon relationships, attend more to the field and attribute to context the sorts of actions that Westerners attribute to dispositions of the focal object (human, animal or physical) in the field (Peng and Nisbett 1999; Nisbett et al. 2001). These psychological research results may well demonstrate that the Chinese people are context-dependent in reasoning and understanding their life experience, and context as an

integrated part of meaning is usually understood in its broad sense in the Chinese mind as in cognitive linguistics, incorporating both people's encyclopaedic knowledge of the world and the online information about the concerned objects and events in communication.

## **2.2 The definition of culture and the Chinese culture**

Culture is another term that is notoriously difficult to define, as culture has been used in different ways in academic research, and its complexity and extensiveness have been well proved by its 164 definitions discovered by Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952). The different aspects of culture have been emphasized in its different definitions for various research purposes. For example, regarding culture as collective mental programming that distinguishes one group of people from others, Hofstede (1980, 1991, 2001) has developed the cultural dimensions theory to analyze the influence of a society's culture on the values and behaviors of its social members, which has become a frequently used framework for cross-cultural communication research. Tyler (1870) has defined culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (cited by Avruch 1998: 6), and his definition has become the foundational definition of culture for anthropology which has been widely accepted for a long time due to its inclusiveness about what can constitute culture as well as the clear point that every member of a society can have culture and acquire culture by virtue of his or her membership in the society (Avruch 1998). Moreover, anthropologist Boas and his students have developed the anthropological understanding of culture by emphasizing "the uniqueness of the many and varied cultures of different peoples or societies" and dismissing "the value judgments" of differentiating high from low culture and valorizing cultures as savage or civilized (Avruch 1998: 6-7). Incorporating the functions of culture in her definition, linguist Spencer-Oatey (2000: 4) has described culture as "a fuzzy set of attitudes, beliefs, behavioral norms, and basic assumptions and values that are shared by a group of people, and that influence each member's behavior and his/her interpretations of the 'meaning' of other people's behavior". This definition clarifies the importance of culture in cross-cultural studies because of its interpretive function of understanding people's social behaviors in a given society.

In line with the current thinking in anthropology and defined from a meaning-based approach, culture in cognitive linguistics is seen as "a set of shared understandings that characterize smaller or large group of people", which is "not an exhaustive definition of culture" in that it excludes those things people usually use and join in any culture, such as "real objects, artifacts, institutions, practices, actions, and so on", but it covers a large portion of culture by including people's shared understandings related to those things mentioned above (Kövecses 2005: 1). According to Kövecses (2009a: 135-136), both culture and language are about meaning making, and meaning making is "a cooperative enterprise (linguistic or otherwise) that always takes place in a large set of contexts (ranging from immediate to background) and that occurs with varying degrees of success". In other words, meaning making procedures prevail in people's usage of language and their interpretations about every aspect of their life experience in the world, so people with successful participation in meaning making may belong to the same culture, since people in the same culture tend to interpret their experience in a largely unified manner. Moreover, much of people's cultural knowledge comes from cultural models which are idealized cognitive



models or frames that represent schematized, structured knowledge of an area of life experience (Kövecses 2006; Coulson 2006a), so culture can also be regarded as “a collection of shared understandings represented by frames, or cultural models” (Kövecses 2006: 70).

Kövecses has further suggested that cultural models can be “factored into two types: folk theories and expert theories”, and folk theories can reflect “laypeople’s understandings of the world for everyday purposes” while expert theories reflect “scientists’ understandings of (a usually narrow aspect of) the world for some technical purposes” (Kövecses 2006: 78), so individuals may have multiple or contradictory cultural models in reasoning the same social, cultural experience because folk theories usually not only conflict with expert theories but also conflict with each other with respect to different aspects of the experience (Kövecses 2006). However, individual culture members have the ability to adapt cultural models to the ever-changing social world through cognitive mechanisms to reason and achieve their intended communication goals (Coulson 2006a). Besides, Kövecses has claimed that “cultural models exist for both concrete and abstract concepts, and cultural models for abstract concepts are constituted by metaphor” because “the conceptualized experiential basis (often appearing as conceptual metonymies) and the emerging conceptual metaphors contribute to the basic schematic structure of the cultural model” for an abstract concept, and “the simultaneously present cultural context fleshes out the details of the schema” (Kövecses 2005: 193-200). If people’s cultural models of abstract concepts are metaphor based, then metaphor can be seen as an inherent part of culture (Kövecses 2005). Broadly shared by members of a given culture, cultural models generally have an important function in people’s reasoning about social issues and socio-cultural phenomena (Coulson 2006a), so abstract socio-cultural concepts like FAMILY can be comprehended through cultural models constructed by metaphors that may reveal culture features and the cultural value system consisting of a series of key beliefs, notions and concepts shared by members of a particular culture.

The Chinese culture is the representation of the enduring Chinese civilization which has thrived on agriculture with self-sufficient, regional economic modes and developed to a high level of sophistication through constant interactions with other parts of the world in its thousands of years of history, and those civilizational values deeply rooted in ancient times have survived the rise and fall of the dynasties in China and sustained the longevity of the Chinese culture (Liu and Chen 2012). It has been acknowledged that the Chinese culture has presented its distinct characteristics under the great influence of Confucianism and Taoism which have been considered as the moral, philosophical roots of the Chinese value system and contributed to the formation of the Chinese holistic, intuitive thinking, the establishment of social hierarchy with harmony as the basis for stability, the social behavioral norms of face-saving in communication and reciprocal interpersonal networks regulated around principles of filial loyalty (Scarborough 1998). As demonstrated by Hofstede’s research, the Chinese culture is highly collectivist, long-term oriented, success-driven, pragmatic and restrained in terms of his cultural dimensions theory, and the Chinese society is characterized by low uncertainty avoidance, low indulgence and high power distance (Hofstede 1980, 1984, 2001; Hofstede G, Hofstede G. J. and Minkov 2010). The Chinese people tend to accept social inequality and ambiguity, show respect to authority and the elders, and control their individual desires or impulses to act in the interests of the group. They also prefer to establish harmonious long-term relationships and value persistence and perseverance for achieving future goals, with an ability to adapt traditions easily to changed conditions upon the belief

that truth is relative to situation, context and time. The cultural features and the Chinese way of social communication reflect the values and traditions of Confucianism and Taoism that have been dominant in feudal China for thousands of years, and their influence is still detectable in modern Chinese society.

Moreover, the long history of feudalism has reinforced the Confucian ideology as an undeniable system governing almost every aspect of Chinese lives, and filial piety as a core Confucian virtue has laid the foundation for Chinese familism that pervades social organizations in modern times (Fan 1995). The centrality of family and the persistence of Confucianism in Chinese society have been proved by numerous sociological studies. Given the cognitive linguistic view of culture as shared knowledge embodied in cultural/cognitive models, FAMILY as a key socio-cultural concept in the Chinese culture may well be understood through metaphorically constituted cultural models which might incorporate Confucian family values and rituals that are notably different from those in Western cultures.

### **2.3 The universality and the variation of metaphor**

Both culture and context are important in cognitive linguistic research, especially in the exploration of the universality and the variation of metaphor which is the major aim of cross-language, cross-cultural studies that are intended to reveal the regular patterns of human conceptual system and the function of culture to shape metaphorical conceptualizations through the analysis of linguistic data, since conceptual metaphors as a major component of culture are often expressed in language and understood in context (Kövecses 2005), and culture as a type of contextual factor has been considered as the major reason for the motivation of culturally unique metaphors. The significance of context in people's metaphorical reasoning has been widely recognized because to apprehend a metaphor "typically requires not only general background knowledge, but even knowledge specific to the particular utterance, such as awareness of the speaker's intentions, of the topic, and of other circumstances of the context" (Berg 1988: 696). Language is not only a chief indicator of conceptual metaphors (Kövecses 2005) but also "a kind of attunement between a person and a context", so the use of metaphors may reflect and refract context, and metaphor variation can indicate "individual positioning regarding change" (Argaman 2008: 483-484).

The effects of context in figurative understanding have also been verified by evidence from various cognitive psychological experiments, showing that no special processes are involved in metaphor comprehension, and people can understand metaphor without any greater difficulty than literal language with the presence of context because context can provide a framework for understanding the meaning of metaphors without additional inferential steps, and appropriate contexts strongly facilitate the interpretation of relevant metaphors (Gibbs Jr. and Gerrig 1989; Martin 2006). A strong context can avail the appropriate meaning immediately, regardless of salience. In addition, the effects of context on metaphor processing are reflections of the environment in the language comprehension mechanism, and the on-line metaphor comprehension process is a normal part of people's cognitive language capacity (Martin 2006). Based on results from psychological experiments and his own research, Kövecses (2012, 2015) has concluded that metaphor creation depends on the utilization of both embodiment and contextual factors, and metaphors can only be interpreted in context because metaphorical meanings come from both metaphorical mappings and the context where they are used. He has even introduced the term

“context-induced metaphor” to emphasize that metaphors not only arise from certain well-motivated correlations between bodily and subjective experience but also from the context of metaphorical conceptualization.

Commonality in human experience is usually regarded as the main force shaping the metaphors we have, so metaphors embodied in universal human experience are considered to be universal or near-universal—at least at the conceptual level (Kövecses 2005, 2015). For example, cross-language studies about emotion concepts have shown that HAPPY IS UP is a shared metaphor in English, Hungarian and Chinese, and CONTAINER metaphors adopted to conceptualize ANGER are found in English, Hungarian, Japanese, Spanish, Turkish, Zulu, Polish, Wolof, and Chinese (Kövecses 2005, 2010a, 2015). Oster’s (2012) corpus-based study of FEAR in German and English has also shown that FEAR IS AN OBJECT and FEAR IS A FORCE are two most frequent metaphors shared by two languages. The phenomena of shared metaphors across languages are abundant in other cross-cultural research as well (see Charteris-Black 2003; Stefanowitsch 2004; Maalej 2004; Sharifian 2006; Lantolf and Bobroba 2012; Türker 2013), which have demonstrated that the universality of metaphor comes from people’s shared brain functions and universal bodily experiences, and conceptual metaphors at the generic-level tend to be universal metaphors in a variety of languages.

According to Kövecses (2005, 2009a), differential experience and differential cognitive preferences and styles are two main reasons for metaphor variation that can be found both within a culture and across different cultures. The universal bodily basis on which universal metaphor could be built may not be utilized in the same way or to the same extent in different languages. Besides, even those potentially universal metaphors may display variation in their specific details and frequency of use within a culture or cross-culturally because people don’t use their cognitive capacities in the same way and can have preferences over certain cognitive operations to make sense of their experience. In his discussions about metaphor in discourse, Kövecses (2005, 2010a, 2012, 2015) has laid considerable stress on the indispensable role of context in metaphorical thinking, and has attributed the universality and the variation in metaphor to what he calls the “pressure of coherence”, claiming that “people tend to be coherent both with their bodies and the surrounding context” when “they conceptualize the world or when they conceptualize it metaphorically” (Kövecses 2012: 28). Thus, context is another major driving force behind metaphor variation. Differences in bodily experience and context may lead to the creation of different metaphors, and changes in the context where a metaphor emerge can also bring changes to the comprehension of the metaphor. Context is highly variable to individual conceptualizers when they make sense of their experience in the world, so it is possible to see the motivation of different metaphors at individual level.

Furthermore, a variety of contextual factors may jointly contribute to the creation and comprehension of metaphors but the effects of cultural context have always been emphasized in cross-cultural research because culture is a major reason for metaphor variation and the motivation of culturally-specific metaphors across languages. In cognitive linguistics, conceptual metaphors are generally viewed as much cultural as they are cognitive entities and processes (Kövecses 2005), so different cultures may have different metaphors based on different socio-cultural experience, and the understanding of these metaphors requires the cultural knowledge or life experience that is not necessarily shared by people from different cultural backgrounds. Cultural preference for some conceptual metaphors is a common type of metaphor variation, and different cultures tend to have different sets of salient everyday concepts and culturally-specific key concepts that are often utilized to motivate differential

specific-level metaphors cross-culturally (Kövecses 2005). Reflecting special cultural characteristics, culturally unique concepts can both lead to the production of cross-culturally differential metaphors and result in the misunderstanding of culturally specific metaphors if people do not share the necessary cultural knowledge and the value system associated with these culturally unique concepts (Kövecses 2006). Besides, universal or near-universal conceptual metaphors may have linguistic variations when expressed in different languages, since their linguistic instantiations are usually metaphorical expressions that “may be influenced or shaped by differences in cultural-ideological traits and assumptions characterizing different cultures” (Kövecses 2003: 319), so the differences in cultural features can be discovered by investigating the linguistic expressions of the shared conceptual metaphors across languages.

## **2.4 Creativity and cross-cultural studies of metaphor and metonymy**

The human mind is imaginative and creative, and creativity has been regarded as a cause of metaphor variation by Kövecses (2005) who has claimed that creativity may have various forms, and figurative creativity is achieved by cognitive operations of metaphor, metonymy and blending, with metaphor and blending considered as creative mental processes that account for a great deal of variation in figurative conceptualization (Kövecses 2005). Due to the focus of the present research, the current discussion is only concerned with metaphorical creativity that refers to “the production and use of conceptual metaphors and/or their linguistic manifestations that are novel or unconventional” (Kövecses 2010b: 656), and metaphorical creativity in discourse may come from the source domain, the target domain and the context where metaphorical conceptualizations take place. The importance of context is confirmed again as both a reason for metaphor variation and a source for metaphorical creativity. As further explained by Kövecses (2010b: 656-657), source-induced creativity involves either the situation of “elaboration and extending, where unused source-internal conceptual materials are utilized to comprehend the target”, or “the phenomenon in which a particular target domain receives new, additional source domains in its conceptualization”, while target-induced creativity refers to the situation that a particular target “conventionally associated with a source ‘connects back’ to the source taking further knowledge structures from it”, and context-induced creativity comes from the effects of the local contextual factors such as the immediate cultural and linguistic context, the social and physical setting and the knowledge of the major entities participating in the discourse, which usually work together to produce emergent unconventional and novel metaphors in discourse.

In addition, metaphor variation caused by metaphorical creativity can be one of the reasons for language creativity that is understood as “any utterance, phrase, or word whose meaning varies with the context in which it is produced in a way that could not be predicated from the lexicalized meanings of its component words” (Gerrig and Gibbs 1988: 2). Novel, unconventional metaphors are often motivated by utilizing new source domains or employing unusual conceptual elements of a source domain to comprehend a particular target, and the linguistic expressions of these novel and unconventional metaphors can be creative within a language community or across different cultures. Moreover, the dynamic, variable context is sure to be a vital element in the realization of language creativity because it calls for people’s efforts to gather information from both their long-term memory and the immediate context in order to generate grammatically appropriate words in language use (Gerrig and Gibbs 1988),

and may give rise to the emergence of both entrenched, conventional metaphorical expressions and genuinely novel or at least unconventional expressions in discourse (Kövecses 2010a). With a detailed analysis of English metaphor-and metonymy-based compounds which she has classified as creative compounds, Benczes (2006, 2010) has proved that metaphor and metonymy not only contribute to language creativity with their function of forming creative expressions in language but also help to create and realize the semantic effects of those creative compounds in English. The creative compound *Muffin top* motivated by image metaphor and CAUSE FOR EFFECT metonymy serves as a good example to demonstrate how compactness and vividness are combined in the compound, with its semantic effect maximized by the employment of metaphor and metonymy (Benczes 2010). She has also acknowledged the importance of context and culture in the formation of creative linguistic expressions, since creative compounds are created by multi-motivating factors, and the immediate communicative context and cultural knowledge affect people's selection of metaphors and the meaning construction of the creative compounds.

On the other hand, a big number of cross-cultural studies have also confirmed that both conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies can produce cross-cultural variation because different cultures show considerable variability in the use of metaphor and metonymy in figurative conceptualization, even though they are both considered as universal cognitive processes in cognitive linguistics. Culture definitely plays a significant role in determining the range, the detailed elaborations and the degrees of salience and importance of those conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies employed in a given culture (Kövecses 2010a), so it is possible to compare cultural differences and identify culturally preferred metaphors or metonymies by exploring their frequency distributions and elaborated details in different languages. One culture may have some metaphors or metonymies with conventional linguistic expressions that sound novel or creative in other cultures without existences of the same metaphors or metonymies, and some shared metaphors or metonymies may have different frequency distributions or alternative realizations in details across languages (Deignan 2003; Kövecses 2010a). In some cases, a culture may prefer and emphasize either metaphors or metonymies in conceptualizing a given concept (Kövecses 2010a), and context as a source from which people recruit conceptual materials has always been regarded as crucial for the emergence of metaphor and metonymy in discourse.

For instance, Charteris-Black's (2003) comparative research about the figurative use of 'mouth', 'lip' and 'tongue' in English and Malay phraseology has shown that English has a general tendency towards metonymy while Malay has a tendency towards metaphor, and such different preferences in figurative conceptualization can be explained as the results coming from cultural differences in stylistic preferences and people's attitudes toward facial expressions. Similarly, there is a preference of metonymy in Chinese to understand emotions but metaphor is more preferred in English due to differences in culture (Kövecses 2010a). HAPPINESS IS FLOWER IN THE HEART is a conventional metaphor in Chinese but it does not exist in English (Yu 1995, 1998; Kövecses 2008b), and CAPITAL FOR GOVERNMENT metonymy is ubiquitous in English and German but less frequent in Hungarian and Croatian (Brdar and Brdar-Szabó 2009). The potentially universal CONTAINER metaphor of ANGER has exhibited culturally-specific differences in what different cultural concepts correspond to ANGER, since the concept of *hara* (belly) is limited to Japanese while the concept of *qi* (energy flows through the body) constitutes the Chinese ANGER metaphor, but ANGER is conceptualized through HEART in Zulu (Kövecses 2010a). The shared two metaphors of FEAR in Oster's

(2012) research have different frequency distributions in German and English. Furthermore, Brdar and Brdar-Szabó (2003, 2009) have noted that various languages do not make use of metonymy in the same way and in the same contexts, and “the cross-linguistic availability of certain types of referential metonymies seem to be the result of an intricate interplay of conceptual, grammatical, and discourse-pragmatic factors” (2009: 249). These cross-cultural studies have fully verified the importance and function of culture and context in figurative conceptualization.

### **3. Metaphor and metonymy in Chinese**

Human conceptual system is a coherent system of metaphorical concepts, and metaphor as a fundamental aspect of human cognition is ubiquitous and embodied in life experience from the perspective of cognitive linguistics whose theoretical framework enables researchers to revisit the Chinese philosophical and cultural traditions (Jia 2008) and produce more satisfying interpretations of traditional Chinese philosophy (Slingerland 2011) that has shaped the fundamental mentality of the Chinese people. Many Chinese scholars have also conducted research with theories of cognitive linguistics in order to explain the complex relations between the Chinese mind, language and culture.

#### **3.1 Metaphor and the traditional Chinese philosophy**

Scholars of philosophy and sinology have acknowledged that metaphor and analogy have characterized the Chinese way of experiencing and understanding the world and played “a foundational, irreducible role in early Chinese philosophical rhetoric” (Slingerland 2011: 2), as shown by a great number of academic studies about early Chinese philosophical texts where Chinese philosophers in Pre-Qin period (770 B.C.-222 B.C.) such as Confucius, Mencius, Laozi, Zhuangzi, Xunzi and others, including philosophers of the Legalist school, have relied heavily on analogical reasoning and constantly employed metaphors to express their original and insightful ideas about philosophical concepts of SELF-CULTIVATION, HUMAN NATURE, MORALITY, DAO, YINYANG and MIND, which have verified the importance of metaphor and analogy in early Chinese philosophical argumentation (Oshima 1983; Ivanhoe 2000; Jia 2008; Slingerland 2003; 2004a; 2011; Chen 2011; Mattice 2014). Moreover, early Chinese thinkers have upheld metaphor and analogy as fundamental ways of making sense of the world, and all the metaphors they have adopted for philosophical reasoning and explanations have been grounded on body and human interactions with the world, which may reveal the experiential nature of traditional Chinese philosophy (Jia 2008).

Various studies have also indicated that analogy was widely used by Chinese philosophers as a method for philosophical argumentation in the fourth and third centuries BC (Mattice 2014), and prevailed in almost all the key classical works of Chinese philosophy. An early definition of analogy is made by Aristotle to describe “cases where B stands in a similar relation to A as D does to C; one can mention D instead of B, and vice versa” (cited by Musolff 2004: 34). It is human’s cognitive capacity to see and use common relational patterns for analogical insight, and analogical thinking is also in operation in metaphorical mappings (Jia 2008). Viewed “as a central part of human induction”, analogy can provides “the seed for forming new relational categories, by abstracting the relational correspondences

between examples into a schema for a class of problems” (Holyoak, Gentner and Kokinov 2001: 9). Analogy and metaphor are cognitively related to each other, since both of them involve mappings from one domain to the other, and they both serve as conceptual apparatuses for humans to discuss less familiar and abstract concepts through familiar concrete concepts (Gentner, Bowdle, Wolff and Boronat 2001). Metaphor in cognitive linguistics is more or less equivalent to analogy (Lakoff 1987). As observed by Slingerland, the conception of metaphor “as the use of one usually concrete domain to structure people’s understanding of another usually more abstract domain” may include what may otherwise be labeled as analogy, and such broad understanding of metaphor “informs most of the work on metaphor in early China” (Slingerland 2011: 2). Therefore, the understanding of those metaphors employed by early Chinese thinkers has become the key to a successful interpretation of their philosophical conceptions.

The central role of metaphor in early Chinese thought and the philosophical value of argument by the use of analogy can be regarded as the natural outcomes of the Chinese holistic thinking that understands meaning, human beings and the outer world by means of correlations and salient convergences (Slingerland 2011; Mattice 2014). The activity of correlation is metaphorical in nature as it is a way of making sense of one thing in terms of another, so metaphor can be considered as the central organizing component of the Chinese holistic thinking to make productive and even creative associations for cognitive reasoning (Mattice 2014). The holistic, correlative thinking and the unique social, historical experience have led to special characteristics of the use and the function of metaphor in early Chinese philosophical argumentation. One distinct feature of the early Chinese thinkers is that they seem to devote “a great deal of conscious attention to developing vivid and consistent sets of interlocking metaphors” (Slingerland 2011: 2) because metaphors are regarded as the repository of meaning to reveal the interconnection of events and processes, and the ability to produce new and creative metaphors is seen as the demonstration of wisdom (Needham 1991; Mattice 2014).

Moreover, there is neither a transcendent ontology nor a strong rhetoric/logic, subject/object division in early Chinese thought (Sivin 1995; Mattice 2014), since early Chinese philosophy possesses the ontology of events rather than substances, and regards all elements in the world as correlative to each other (Hall and Ames 1987). As a result, a conspicuous difference between Chinese and Western metaphors is that Western metaphors function by establishing a correspondence between two distinctly perceived ontological domains, whereas Chinese metaphors are seen as “genuine expressions of ontological truths mirroring the normative model of the natural world” (Slingerland 2011: 5), which want to “show that there is a convergence” (Reding 2004: 136) between the two ontological domains. Furthermore, early Chinese philosophers and their Western counterparts seem to adopt and focus on different metaphors in their philosophical reasoning (Mattice 2014). Such difference in the use of metaphor lies in the fact that Chinese philosophers in the Warring State period lived in a chaotic historical era with “the breakdown of the moral and political order” and faced with the most vital question of finding “the way to order the state and conduct personal life” (Graham 1999: 3). Therefore, unlike their Western counterparts who were mainly concerned with the theoretical argument for truth, early Chinese philosophers “assumed that there was nothing more real than the constant cycles of change and persistence in the world around them” and paid more attention to searching for practical solutions to rebuild social order and optimal ways to “lead oneself and one’s community to harmony” (Mattice 2014: 9),

which gave rise to the emergence of metaphors that indicated special features of their philosophical concerns as well as the social, historical background of the times.

It is important to note that early Chinese philosophical schools of thought have exerted far-reaching influence on the formation of the Chinese cultural practices and value system, especially on the understanding of socio-cultural concepts. The core Chinese philosophical ideas and the metaphors employed by early Chinese philosophers have been deeply rooted in the Chinese mind and contained in numerous idiomatic Chinese expressions that are still in widespread use by the Chinese people in modern times.

### **3.2 Metaphor and the Chinese written language**

Evidence has suggested that human language is “the product and manifestation of human conceptualization faculties that have been influenced by the physical, social and cultural environment humans live in” (Hu 2015: 161), so it can reflect cultural values and world views and serve both as an indispensable instrument for thought and a bearer to pass down the cultural traditions. The holistic thinking and the analogical reasoning in early Chinese philosophical argumentation also underlie the formation of the Chinese language whose written system is visual and pictographic by nature because the constituting Chinese characters usually resemble the pictorial shapes and images of those physical signs or objects from which they are created, and the creation of Chinese characters can be considered as a process of metaphorical conceptualization of the world to change concrete images into abstract characters and concepts (Jia 2008; Chun and Yu 2008; Liu 2009; Chen 2011).

At their earliest stages of development, Chinese characters were pictographs directly drawn from images of natural signs or objects thousands of years ago, but they gradually lost their obvious pictorial quality and became more simplified when the writing system progressively matured and stylized (Norman 1988). These pictographs are seen as the foundation of the Chinese script, and their creation for conveying meaning inevitably involves metaphorical contemplation of images from people’s visual experience through analogical reasoning (Jia 2008). In order to meet the demand of representing the Chinese language completely, Chinese characters have undergone the evolution of developing from monadic pictographs and ideograms to compound indicatives (semantic-semantic compounds) and phonograms (semantic-phonetic compounds), the latter of which account for the majority of modern Chinese characters constituted by a radical and other graphic component(s) (Norman 1988; Sun 2006; Liu 2009; Hu 2015). Radicals are graphic components shared by a group of characters, so they can be used to classify Chinese characters’ graphic shapes, and Chinese scholar Xu Shen’s successful classification of around ten thousand characters under 540 radicals has shown that Chinese characters are actually made up of a comparatively small number of graphic components, and the process of combining certain graphs to create new characters to express new meanings is not purely arbitrary but dependent on human cognitive capacities of categorization and figurative conceptualization (Norman 1988; Hu 2015).

The meaning of a compound Chinese character can be seen as a gestalt constructed by metaphor and/or metonymy (Jia 2008; Hu 2015). For example, the compound indicative 明 (míng) combines two pictographic graphs indicating the sun (日 rì) and the moon (月 yuè), both of which are in metonymical use to stand for their brightness, and thus produce the meaning of “bright” for the character 明(míng). Moreover, the character 心(xīn) is both a pictogram of a human heart and a radical to form phonograms denoting various emotions



such as 愁(chóu) “sadness”, 怒(nù) “anger” and 恨(hèn) “hatred” (radical 忄 is a stylized 心) through the employment of HEART IS THE SEAT OF EMOTION metaphor and HEART STANDS FOR EMOTION metonymy (Hu 2015). The Chinese notion of *xīn* (heart) has a philosophical tradition of being understood metaphorically as both the ruler of the body and the host of thinking and feeling (Yu 2007; Mattice 2014), and the phonetic components may lead to the motivation of other metaphors and/or metonymies to jointly construct meanings of the constituted phonograms. Therefore, the availability of the metaphorical and/or metonymic clues about the graphic components of a compound Chinese character is crucial to the understanding of the character’s meaning.

In brief, the Chinese characters are cognitive products of the ancient Chinese people’s figurative understanding of their sensory and motor interactions with the world, so they can serve as a reliable source of evidence to suggest that metaphor is grounded in bodily experience and permeates the Chinese mind and the Chinese language.

### 3.3 Previous research of metaphor and metonymy in Chinese

The efforts of introducing cognitive linguistic theories into China have been made by many Chinese scholars who have translated the key publications of cognitive linguists into Chinese and discussed how to apply cognitive theories of metaphor and metonymy to both academic studies about the Chinese mind, language and culture and comparative research in order to probe into the issues of the universality and variation in the use of metaphor and metonymy between Chinese and other languages (see Lan 2005; Wang 2006; Li 2008; Shu 2008; Sun 2008; Zhang and Lu 2010). The most well-known, productive research of Chinese scholar Ning Yu (1995, 1998, 2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2009, 2012) has already proved the prevalence of metaphor in the construction and comprehension of Chinese concepts, and the Chinese people share a lot of metaphors and metonymies with English-speaking people to make sense of the world, and culture has an important function in shaping people’s figurative conceptualizations and motivating culturally-specific metaphors.

Inspired by Yu’s research achievements, other Chinese researchers have also conducted cognitive linguistic research to explore the embodiment of metaphor and metonymy as well as the function of culture in people’s figurative conceptualizations. Su (2000: 420) has investigated the THOUGHT AS FOOD metaphor in modern Mandarin Chinese and concluded that “certain features of the source domain are more prominent and more often mapped in Chinese. The conceptual metaphor may be universal, but the strategies used will be subject to language specific resources. Metaphor research may help us to build up the language-specific cultural model as well as reflect cultural differences based on the models identified.” Jing-Schmidt (2008) has discovered that due to cultural preferences, half of the Chinese expressions of verbal behavior are based on the ORGAN OF SPEECH ARTICULATION FOR SPEECH metonymy, and the rest are based on metaphors of VERBAL BEHAVIOR IS PHYSICAL ACTION, SPEECH IS CONTAINER, ARGUMENT IS WAR (or WORDS ARE WEAPONS) and WORDS ARE FOOD. Zhang (2011) has found out that cultural, conceptual and discursive factors interplay intricately to give rise to the variation in the application of CAPITAL FOR GOVERNMENT metonymy between Mainland Chinese and Taiwan Chinese, and the social environment, the sequencing and location of a capital name can also determine the (non)metonymic usages of the capital name. Her comparative study about variation in metonymies for PERSON between Chinese and English has indicated “three main types of cross-linguistic variation at different levels of granularity:

variation in the metonymic patterns for the general target category PERSON, variation in the metonymic patterns for specific kinds of person, and variation in the metonymic sources of a particular pattern” (Zhang, Speelman and Geeraerts 2015: 220), and physiological and cultural-social aspects of embodiment may jointly shape metonymic conceptualizations of PERSON, with bodily experience as the basis for the universality of metonymical patterns across different languages and cultural experience underlying culture-specific preferences of specific metonymies for a given target.

Previous studies have indeed demonstrated the advantages to adopt the theoretical framework of cognitive linguistics to conduct research concerning the Chinese studies, with interesting discoveries fully supporting the function of culture in shaping people’s figurative conceptualizations and the major cognitive linguistic claim that metaphor is embodied and ubiquitous in language and mind. Therefore, the present study of the Chinese FAMILY concept is also carried out with cognitive linguistic approach to metaphor and metonymy, and the research results are promising in the sense that FAMILY is a key socio-cultural concept embedded with entrenched Chinese philosophical tradition characterized by the holistic thinking and metaphorical reasoning, and the discussions about how the FAMILY concept is figuratively constructed and understood may reveal the distinct characteristics of the Chinese culture and the functions of family in modern Chinese society.

## Chapter Four: Research Methodology

In its initial phase of development, cognitive linguistic research had mainly adopted the intuitive metaphor analysis, and thus received criticisms for the lack of empirical proof in its theoretical investigations largely based on researchers' linguistic introspections and rational reasoning to analyze made-up linguistic data in order to uncover the relations between language and mind (McGlone 2007; Gibbs Jr. 2007; 2011). Actually, introspection has long been acknowledged as a major research methodology in linguistics and played an irreplaceable role in the systematic interpretations of research results, the formulation of linguistic theories as well as their theoretical developments (Geeraerts 2006, 2010; Janda 2013). Introspection in linguistics can be understood as the "conscious attention directed by a language user to particular aspects of language as manifest in her own cognition" (Talmy 2007: XII), while intuition refers to a native speaker's crucial ability to examine and decide the acceptability, grammaticality and meaningfulness of linguistic expressions, both of which have been considered as indispensable in regard of laying the theoretical foundation of cognitive linguistics (Gibbs Jr. 2007). However, the shortcomings of researchers' individual linguistic introspections and intuitions are the main reasons for the criticisms of early cognitive linguistic studies.

As pointed out by Gibbs Jr. (2007), even though introspection and intuition as valuable sources for formulating hypotheses have offered detailed insights into the interactive links between human language, mind and body, and cognitive linguistic studies conducted with introspective methods have generated conclusions about the nature of the human conceptual system that have been proved to be correct by supportive evidence from psychological experiments, the linguistic intuitions and introspections of individual scholars are neither sufficient nor reliable to establish generalizations about what people ordinarily do when they use and understand language because even well-trained linguists may vary considerably in their linguistic introspections or intuitions due to their different theoretical commitments, and people's individual intuitions and introspections are usually biased, inconsistent or even inaccurate as shown by various psychological studies. Moreover, the methodology of introspection may operate successfully in cognitive linguistic metaphor research that aims to establish the existence of a particular mapping but can run into problems to characterize a specific source or target domain systematically or compare its linguistic manifestations across languages, since it is difficult or even impossible to decide upon the standard for cross-linguistic comparison, the exhaustive collection of metaphors related to a given target, the importance of a given metaphor in a specific language with quantitative evidence through researchers' linguistic introspections or intuitions alone (Stefanowitsch 2004).

The limitations of individual introspections and intuitions in linguistic research, the criticisms about the shortage of reliable and replicable linguistic data in traditional cognitive linguistic studies and the need to provide objective linguistic evidence and falsifiable hypotheses have urged cognitive linguists to employ empirical research methods (Deignan 2005; Semino 2006; Gibbs Jr. 2007). Anyway, cognitive linguistics "has always been theoretically and methodologically compatible with studying language in its actual real-life contexts" because of its "usage-based perspective on language", which regards language as "a system of conceptualized form-meaning pairings that are used in interactive situations among

speakers to process and convey information” instead of “a mere collection of abstract principles that form a system used for understanding and producing linguistic utterances” (Luodonpaa-Manni, Penttilä and Viimaranta 2017: 1). As a result, a “quantitative turn” in cognitive linguistic research has been witnessed since the last decade, and quantitative analysis has become a common research practice, with statistic tests and empirical data from linguistic corpora or experiments heavily involved in research procedures and theoretical discussions (Janda 2013). Under such circumstances, the present research about the Chinese FAMILY concept has adopted the corpus methodology that “has the potential to put metaphor theory on a sounder empirical footing, especially with respect to the extrapolation of hypotheses about conceptual metaphors from linguistic evidence” (Semino 2008: 199), since corpus has been proved to be an effective and indispensable tool for quantitative and contrastive analyses in cognitive linguistic studies, with its large quantity of naturally occurring linguistic data capable of displaying patterns of language use that reflect semantic distinctions – patterns that are not always revealed by a native speaker’s introspections or intuitions.

## **1. A corpus-based approach**

A corpus can be viewed as a database of concrete linguistic utterances, be they spoken, written, gestured or signed. In current practice of linguistic research, a corpus is a large collection of real-life, authentic linguistic texts stored in machine-readable form that can be studied by computer programs (Deignan 2005) and analyzed through (semi)-automatic search processes. With its desirable features of being machine-readable and a maximally representative sample of a target language, a corpus is often used quantitatively to extract frequency information and identify lexical and syntactic patterns occurring in the target language (McEnery and Wilson 1996; Mittelberg, Farmer and Waugh 2007), from which researchers are able to “observe the hidden meanings behind the linguistic expressions, and to find patterns of meanings formed in contexts that are not obviously detected” (Mittelberg, Farmer and Waugh 2007: 40) in naturally occurring language. What’s more, a corpus as a large body of data easily accessible through electronic means makes it easier for researchers to examine the use of metaphor systematically and compare their quantitative research results cross-linguistically and cross-culturally (Semino 2008).

Kövecses (2008a) believes that cognitive linguists can be classified into two types due to their different research aims and different methods of acquiring research data. The first type of cognitive linguists employ a top-down approach to study the elicited data in order to propose conceptual metaphors and discover patterns and regularities of thought at a supra-individual level, while the second type of researchers have interest in detailed language description and typically do bottom-up, corpus-based studies to systematically identify linguistic metaphors in natural discourse. In recent years, a growing number of cognitive linguistic studies are corpus-based, whose initial hypotheses and research planning derive from introspection but “corpus data are used for systematic quantitative and/or qualitative investigation of a large number of examples that could not be achieved through introspection only”, and empirical evidence usually occupies a central position in research analyses to reveal “significant tendencies in actual language use as represented by the data”, with quantification and statistical analyses needed to “determine whether the phenomenon observed is frequent or marginal and to check whether the observations made on the data are

based on convention or pure chance” (Luodonpaa-Manni, Penttilä and Viimaranta 2017: 7-8). The major advantages of a corpus-based approach, including the quantification of research results, the possible investigation of textual and contextual properties of metaphor and metonymy (Stefanowitch 2006a) and the utilization of both “the material devices (the corpora themselves, the lists of co-occurrences, and the statistical measures)” and “conceptual tools developed in corpus linguistics” (Oster 2010: 732) can help researchers to develop more reliable generalizations about language meaning and use and make comparisons of figurative conceptualizations with quantitative proof within a given language or across different languages.

The present research about the Chinese FAMILY concept is descriptive with an aim to explore figurative conceptualizations of FAMILY in modern Mandarin Chinese, so a bottom-up, corpus-based approach is appropriate to satisfy the needs to provide replicable, objective research data in large quantities and conduct the research with authentic, naturally-occurring linguistic materials. With the adoption of an authorized Chinese corpus, it is possible to make a comparatively exhaustive examination of relevant data, and the interpretations of these data may lead to potential reassessments of previous analyses about FAMILY in Chinese, the refinement of the hypotheses and/or even more questions for future research (Tummers, Kris and Geeraerts 2005; Stefanowitch 2006a). In addition, a corpus-based approach to the Chinese FAMILY concept may generate research outcomes with frequency information indicating how FAMILY is conventionally conceptualized in the Chinese culture, and how context can affect the Chinese people’s figurative conceptualizations of FAMILY in modern times.

## **2. The research corpus and the key research word 家(jiā)**

A corpus can be specialized or non-specialized. A specialized corpus consists of “texts from a specified register or genre” for researchers to “identify and describe typical features of that register,” while a non-specialized corpus “consists of a selection of texts that is usually intended to be ‘balanced’, in such a way that generalizations about the language as a whole can be drawn from it”, and is often “used to assist in the description of language” (Deignan 2005: 76). Corpora are also differentiated by their constituent texts, since the texts can either include the whole texts or just sampled, and a corpus is a closed corpus if its size will not grow, but a non-closed corpus will take in new texts over the time (Deignan 2005). Moreover, the size of corpora used in linguistic research is also important because small corpora are not able to represent people’s vibrant, varied applications of language in real life. Therefore, a big-sized, balanced corpus seems to be a better choice for the description of people’s figurative conceptualizations of a target concept in a given language.

In order to investigate the FAMILY concept in modern Mandarin Chinese, an official Chinese language corpus is chosen to be the research corpus, which is a closed, non-specialized and well-balanced corpus that contains more than 110 million Chinese characters in total. Established by the National Language Committee of China, this Chinese language corpus is called CorpusOnline and is accessible free of charge on the Internet<sup>6</sup>. CorpusOnline is divided into two sections: the Ancient Chinese Corpus and the Modern Chinese Corpus, the latter of which has more than 12 million Chinese words and serves as the

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<sup>6</sup> The official website of CorpusOnline is: <http://www.aihanyu.org/cncorpus/index.aspx>.

source of the linguistic data used in the present research, since it is big enough for making generalizations about the language as a whole and it contains printed linguistic data of various types of genres, such as newspapers, magazines, novels, academic writings and school textbooks and so on. Most of the corpus data are from Chinese written materials of the twentieth century, especially the times after the foundation of the People's Republic of China in 1949, and thus can represent the use of modern Mandarin Chinese in the last century.

As demonstrated by Stefanowitch (2004, 2006b), lexical items should be in the focus of the corpus-based research so that conceptual metaphor is able to be made amenable to corpus linguistic methods because metaphorical expressions tend to contain lexical items from their source domains but not all of them contain lexical items from the target domain, and a corpus made of a large collection of orthographical texts can only be accessed by searching for an individual word or groups of words that may serve as the focal point of corpus-based studies around which researchers can make observations and build up theories. For target domain studies, it is necessary to choose a lexical item from the target domain to identify all frames or metaphorical patterns in which this lexical item occurs systematically and exhaustively. The Chinese character 家(jiā) is qualified as the key word for the research, since it is the Chinese lexical item that comes from the target domain of FAMILY, and it is possible to identify exhaustively the source domains for FAMILY from a large number of corpus instances obtained after entering the key research word 家(jiā) into the Modern Chinese Corpus.

### 3. The research procedure

The corpus results with 家(jiā) generated by the Modern Chinese Corpus can be roughly classified into two kinds: a list of Chinese multi-syllabic words with 家(jiā) and a list of Chinese sentences containing 家(jiā). The next imperative step is to extract metaphors and metonymies of the target research concept from the relevant corpus data, which is always a methodological problem in research practice for corpus-based studies involving working with large electronic corpora because the tasks of identifying and classifying metaphors and metonymies cannot be performed automatically by corpora, though corpus tools can help researchers to “find the relevant stretches of text, process them efficiently, and thus keep the intervention of ‘intelligent’ analysis at a manageable level” (Oster 2010: 755). Moreover, researchers usually have to face the reality that metaphors and metonymies need to be explored from varying contexts in different genres, and neither metaphorical nor metonymic mappings are by nature “straightforwardly associated with particular word forms or particular linguistic items in general” and can be “retrieved automatically without difficulty” (Stefanowitch 2006 b: 5). The hard retrieval of metaphors and metonymies from corpus results has forced researchers to conduct a manual or semi-manual analysis that includes a careful examination of the corpus data and an introspective classification of metaphorical or metonymic expressions based on researchers’ professional knowledge and trained linguistic intuitions.

Even though researcher’s introspections and intuitions have been recognized as inseparable in corpus-based linguistic research, it is still necessary to have a comparatively systematic, empirically reliable procedure for metaphor identification because the “variability in intuitions” and the missing of “precision about what counts as a metaphor make it quite difficult to compare different empirical analyses”, and “the lack of agreed criteria for metaphor identification complicates any evaluation of theoretical claims about the frequency

of metaphor, its organization in discourse, and possible relations between metaphoric language and metaphoric thought” (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 2). The “metaphor identification procedure” (MIP) proposed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007) seems to be a good way to identify metaphors from authentic linguistic data, which enables researchers to start by reading the entire text-discourse for acquiring its general meaning and determining all its constituent lexical units, and then establish the contextual meaning for every lexical unit in the text. After checking whether each lexical unit has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context, researchers need to decide whether the contextual meaning of each lexical unit can be understood in comparison with its basic meaning that tends to be more concrete, precise, related to bodily action and historically older. If the answer is yes, then the lexical unit is marked as being metaphorical. The MIP can be adapted for metonymy detection, with metonymic words identified by the expression of “a stand-for relationship that differs from the comparison process” (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 31). Thus, the MIP with its explicit steps in data processing has allowed the researcher of the present research to manually identify figuratively used words as exhaustively as possible from the large body of corpus results so as to develop representative generalizations about the understanding of FAMILY in Chinese.

Following the identification of metaphors and metonymies from research data, detailed analyses of research findings are presented with corpus examples, in which the frequency information is integrated to explore the features of the Chinese people’s figurative conceptualizations of FAMILY under the influence of the Chinese culture as well as the functions of metaphor and metonymy in the formation and the meaning construction of the Chinese compounds with 家(jiā). It is also discovered that the concept of FAMILY is used as a source domain, and the exploration of FAMILY metaphors may generate more valuable findings about the Chinese way of thinking and cultural beliefs, so it deserves to be an indispensable part of a comprehensive description about the concept of FAMILY in modern Mandarin Chinese. All eligible corpus results from the Modern Chinese corpus are translated into English and sorted out in appendixes at the end of the dissertation, and the Chinese *pīnyīn* (sound spelling) is added to any cited Chinese example necessary for analyses. Conclusions are made on the foundation of analyses and comparisons of research results, with hypotheses tested and potential questions presented for future research.

#### **4. Methodological dilemmas and possible compromises in the present research**

A researcher’s methodology applied in research is usually subjected to criticisms, especially the issues concerning with the methodology’s scientific rigor, reliability and feasibility. It is always difficult for linguists to solve methodological problems and avoid being over-subjective or biased in research analyses and conclusions. So far, there is no scientifically perfect methodology for metaphor research, so the present research about the Chinese FAMILY concept inevitably confronts methodological dilemmas. Firstly, it is hard to conduct the present research without involving the researcher’s introspections and intuitions about the Chinese language, though skepticism about a researcher’s intuitive introspections never ceases to appear. The Modern Chinese Corpus has exhibited its advantages of providing a large amount of empirical linguistic data for possible exhaustive investigations of the research target, with frequency information available for further comparisons and generalizations about the figurative understanding of FAMILY in Chinese. Nevertheless, it is

also recognized that the linguistic introspections and intuitions of the researcher are almost the same important as the quantitative corpus data in the present research to produce systematic analyses and reasonable conclusions.

As mentioned earlier, linguistic introspections and intuitions can inspire and formulate research hypotheses for researchers to test with corpora and experiments, and theory formation and theoretical advances demand conceptual analysis as well (Geeraerts 2006; Gibbs Jr. 2007; Luodonpaa-Manni, Penttilä and Viimaranta 2017). Talmy (2000) believes that the use of introspection is inevitable and necessary to analyze meaning, so introspection should be justified and accepted as an appropriate research method in cognitive science. Moreover, researchers' linguistic introspections and intuitions are always needed in the processing of the linguistic materials whose structures and meanings are being assessed for professional discussions and interpretations because the quantitative data of corpora cannot automatically yield abstract linguistic patterns and qualitative generalizations of the corpus results (Talmy 2007; Kövecses 2008c; Geeraert 2010). Subjective decisions are also obviously present in data processing when researchers have to "make a variety of decisions on the structure and meaning of language" in order to identify figurative expressions, which "are not usually 'theory neutral', because they reflect analysts' ideas about a wide variety of linguistic and cognitive matters that surely influence what words get marked as metaphorical" (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 23). It is true that linguistic introspection and intuition play a significant role even in empirical metaphor research, without which no research results can be explained and no observation of linguistic data can be analyzed.

With respect to methodological issues in the field of metaphor research, Kövecses suggests that researchers have justifiably different research goals and methods that should be regarded as "complementary and compatible with each other and not as being superior or inferior to one another" (2011: 23). He also confirms that linguistic introspection and intuition are not precise and complete but are useful, necessary and time-saving in metaphor research to reveal the outlines of the complex metaphor system that characterizes the human conceptual system, which is a great achievement that cannot be realized so soon if researchers had waited for the appearance of a more scientific and objective methodology (Kövecses 2011). Furthermore, he distinguishes the existence of metaphors into "the supraindividual, the individual, and the subindividual levels: At the supraindividual level, we find decontextualized metaphorical linguistic expressions (e.g., in dictionaries) on the basis of which we can suggest certain conceptual metaphors. At the individual level, specific speakers use specific metaphorical linguistic expressions in specific communicative situations in relation to particular target concepts. The subindividual level is the one where the metaphors receive their motivation, that is, the metaphors have a bodily and/or cultural basis" (Kövecses 2008c: 169). The early works of conceptual metaphor studies have relied on researchers' intuitive introspections and paid insufficient attention to irregularities of linguistic metaphors because they have aimed to analyze conceptual metaphors at the supra-individual level, but the "systematic identification of linguistic metaphors in natural discourse is a goal that is connected with the individual level", and "metaphors suggested on an intuitive basis may prove to be useful in organizing the systematically identified linguistic metaphors into 'larger' conceptual metaphors at the individual level" (Kövecses 2011: 25-27). Besides, those linguistic metaphors detected from natural discourse and language corpora may also help researchers to discover unidentified conceptual metaphors (Kövecses 2008c).

Therefore, it is beneficial to conduct a qualitative study comprising the identification,



interpretation and explanation of metaphor and/or metonymy based on linguistic introspection and intuition, followed with quantitative concordance analyses of the research data from electronic corpora (Kövecses 2005, 2008, 2011; Charteris-Black 2004; Oster 2010). It can be a possible compromise to combine the method of introspection and corpus research to provide a linguistic study with both objective empirical evidence and systematic theoretical analyses. As a result, the present research is intended to be a corpus-based study with an aim of achieving a comparatively comprehensive description of FAMILY in modern Mandarin Chinese, whose qualitative analyses rely on the author's professional linguistic knowledge and trained intuitions, and quantitative discussions depend upon research findings from large-scale corpus data. However, another dilemma occurred soon after the research moved to the stage of testifying the second hypothesis to check whether there were changes in the metaphors (and metonymies) the Chinese people may use for conceptualizing FAMILY in the early twenty-first century. There was no authorized Chinese language corpus with linguistic data of the twenty-first century available for comparing the corpus results with those from the Modern Chinese Corpus which contains only linguistic data of the twentieth century, so other research methods were needed to collect the necessary linguistic data for further comparative explorations in order to achieve the research goals of the present research.

It is admitted that it would be better to conduct the whole research with one methodology only because the linguistic data acquired would be scientifically more comparable, and research procedures would be much easier to follow, but no single methodology can fulfill the task of providing all necessary linguistic data, and no readily-made language corpora are suitable for all linguistic research purposes. Hence, the problem of not being able to use a single methodology throughout the present research is nothing uncommon, and making use of several research methods to collect linguistic materials seems to be the only alternative to achieve the goals of the present research. Moreover, a multi-methodological approach to linguistic research has been promoted in recent years (Luodonpää-Manni, Penttilä and Viimaranta 2017), and researchers often prefer to collect their qualitative research data from questionnaires and interviews (Dörnyei 2007). A questionnaire usually consists of a series of questions designed to gather information from respondents, and questionnaire as a research method can operate successfully in many typological studies of spoken languages and help to outline various areas of language structure but it is not so frequently used by cognitive linguists (Wilcox and Morford 2007) whose empirical research works mainly employ experimental data, corpora data or a combination of the two (Janda 2013). However, it is possible to observe comparative analyses of linguistic materials coming from a corpus and a questionnaire in research based on information from language users in recent years (see Luodonpää-Manni 2017; Granvik 2017). On the other hand, interviewing is regarded as a natural and socially accepted method of data collection in social science research (Dörnyei 2007), with advantages of allowing interviewers to probe into a research topic and obtain in-depth information of interviewees' perceptions, values and beliefs about the topic (Ho 2006; Alshenqeeti 2014). Interviewing has been used to explore linguistic phenomena (Talmy 2010) and socio-cultural concepts such as MARRIAGE and FAMILY in metaphor research (see Quinn 1996, 2005; Cao 2005).

Thus, it seems to be justifiable to adopt questionnaire and interviewing as supplementary data collection methods in the present research. With the help of a university professor in China, a questionnaire study about the understanding of FAMILY among the Chinese university students was carried out in 2013 to inspect whether the young Chinese people born in the last

decade of the twentieth century might have different figurative conceptualizations of FAMILY, since university students could be regarded as representatives of the new generation in China that grew up in the social context of globalization, modernization and urbanization that may affect their comprehension of socio-cultural concepts. The creation of the questionnaire questions and the discussions of the answers were inspired by previous sociological research about the Chinese family and sociological and metaphor research of MARRIAGE in Chinese which were conducted with questionnaires (see Yeung and Kwong 1998; Chu and Yu 2010; Lu et al. 2012; Zhou 2012). In Hungary's capital city Budapest, it was hard to find so many Chinese university students to carry out a counterpart questionnaire study for comparison of the results but it was easier and more feasible to interview those Chinese immigrants who were willing to be interviewed to provide linguistic materials for further exploration about the contextual effects on people's figurative conceptualizations of FAMILY. The interview questions were structured in a similar pattern as those in the questionnaire so that the answers could be compared. After metaphors of FAMILY were identified from the linguistic data collected from the questionnaire and the interviewing by applying the MIP mentioned above, research hypotheses could be tested by analyzing all research findings from the Modern Chinese Corpus, the questionnaire and the interviewing.

It is true that no research instrument is perfect, and research data collected through different methods may easily arouse skepticism about their reliability and comparability. However, due to the absence of a suitable language corpus and the limitations in research maneuverability, questionnaire and interviewing as data collection instruments can be seen as compromising solutions available to complete the present research. Besides, it is more efficient and practical to adopt various research methods to investigate a given research topic when a single research method cannot satisfy all research demands. It is believed that future development in Chinese language corpora and research methodologies will certainly bring more promising research which will correct the mistakes and make up for the deficiencies of past studies regarding the Chinese concept of FAMILY.

## Chapter Five: FAMILY and the Chinese Compounds with 家(jiā)

Family plays a central role in the social life of the Chinese people as demonstrated by various sociological studies, and the high value attached to the institution of family has also found expression in the formation of the Chinese compounds with 家(jiā), most of which are more or less related to the concept of FAMILY and frequently applied in verbal communication. Therefore, the investigation of the Chinese conception of FAMILY starts with discussions about the compounds with 家(jiā) retrieved from the Modern Chinese Corpus to explore the Chinese figurative conceptualizations of FAMILY and the function of metaphor and metonymy in the meaning construction of those compounds, with analyses mainly focusing on disyllabic compounds with 家(jiā) for reasons of simplicity and clearness. Before going into details about the corpus findings, it is better to present a brief description about the features of the Chinese language in order to facilitate understanding.

### 1. The general linguistic characteristics of the Chinese language

The Chinese language with its dialects is usually described as a monosyllabic, logographic and tonal language (Norman 1988; Chen 1999; Sun 2006; Lin 2007), whose “graphemes are characters” and each grapheme “represents a syllable, encoded by a character” with both “phonetic values and meaning”, whereas in English “graphemes are letters” and “represent phonemes in the form of a letter or group of letters” (Chen 1999: 131-132). A grapheme is “the basic graphic unit in a script that corresponds to the smallest segment of speech represented in the writing” (Chen 1999: 131), and a syllable is a prosodic unit to carry tone and stress (Lin 2007). Every Chinese syllable bears a tone that can be considered as “a third type of speech element in addition to consonants and vowels”, so a change “in the pitch of the voice can be used to denote differences in word meaning” (Lin 2007: 3-4). There are four basic tones with a neutral tone in modern Mandarin Chinese, and the complex rules of tone-sandi make it more difficult to grasp and distinguish Chinese pronunciations for speakers who are not familiar with tonal languages. Moreover, restrictions in the formation of Chinese syllables prohibit the Chinese language from having a more complex phonological structure like English<sup>7</sup>, and as a result, modern Mandarin Chinese has only about 1,300 different syllables but the number drops down to around 420 if tonal distinctions are omitted (Chen 1999; Lin 2007). However, there are more than 56,000 monosyllabic Chinese characters in modern Mandarin Chinese, so the tremendous discrepancy between the number of characters and the number of syllables has resulted in a large number of homophones (Chen 1999), which may lead to ambiguity in speaking but can be easily distinguished in writing.

The Chinese writing system has a long history, and the earliest written records of the developed Chinese script inscribed on turtle shells and oxen shoulder blades can date back to the Shang Dynasty (the 16<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century B.C.). Considered as products of the human imagination, early Chinese characters are mostly pictographic in nature because all graphs in

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<sup>7</sup> More information about Chinese phonological rules and constraints can be found in Yen-Hwei Lin's book published in 2007: *The Sounds of Chinese*. Norman (1988) has a detailed description about the historical development of Chinese phonology.

the Chinese orthography to constitute characters are born from the images or symbols of nature through ancient Chinese people's mental abstraction processes of mapping complex concepts onto graphs in any iconic fashion (Sun 2006). It is widely known that there are six principles categorized by scholar Shen Xu in the Han Dynasty (202 B.C.-220 A.D.) to form and classify Chinese characters into pictographs, ideographs, compound indicatives (semantic-semantic compounds), phonograms (semantic-phonetic compounds), phonetic loans, and mutual explanatories (Norman 1988; Chen 1999; Sun 2006). The majority of ancient Chinese characters are compound indicatives and phonograms, and it is estimated that 74% of the most commonly used 2,000 characters are phonograms in modern Chinese (Chen 1999). A system of simplified standard script of modern Mandarin Chinese has been in use since last century for the ease of learning and writing which has reduced the number of strokes (i.e., lines, dots and hooks that form Chinese characters) and that of multiple-graphic forms of the commonly used characters (Sun 2006), but it has not changed the logographic nature of the Chinese script.

Furthermore, Chinese is also regarded as an analytic or isolating language in which a word is coterminous with a morpheme (Matthews 1991), because it has very few derivational processes and inflectional morphemes to mark grammatical categories of tense, voice, mood, person, number and gender, and grammatical relationships in Chinese are indicated "either by word order or by the use of independent grammatical particles, rather than by affixes or by internal changes in the word itself" (Norman 1988: 10). A morpheme is commonly considered as the smallest unit of meaning in a language, and morphemes of a language are categorized into two major subtypes: a bound morpheme always goes together with another morpheme, whereas a free morpheme is uttered independently and can make sense all by itself (Norman 1988; Sun 2006). In Chinese, the most striking lexical feature is the "almost perfect correspondence between the syllable and the written character which, in turn, 90% of the times represent a morpheme" (Arcodia 2007: 81) that denotes the pronunciation and the meaning at the same time. The bound-free status of a Chinese morpheme (character) is not absolute, as it can be bound in certain usages but free in others (Norman 1988; Packard 2000). Unlike Indo-European languages, the majority of Chinese morphemes have a lexical nature, and most of them are bound roots that are very productive in word formation, since most complex words in Chinese are formed by combining bound roots (Packard 2000). The evolution of the Chinese language has witnessed a trend of di- and multi-syllabification in word formation (Chen 1999), so modern Mandarin Chinese is characterized by disyllabic words and considered as a "language of compound words" (Arcodia 2007).

In addition to the lack of inflectional changes in words, the requirement of a classifier (CL) or measure word for a noun preceded by a numeral is another salient characteristic of modern Mandarin Chinese, whose sentences are featured by the linear order of words with a basic subject – verb – object pattern as in English (Sun 2006). For example:

- (i). 他穿一件白衬衫。  
tā chuān yí jiàn bái chènshān  
He wear one-CL white shirt  
He wears a white shirt.

The Chinese word order is crucial in defining different types of words and identifying lexical categories, and the flexibility of occurrences of the words in a Chinese sentence is restricted

by syntactic properties of the words and syntactic rules in Chinese grammar (Sun 2006). Generally speaking, any noun or pronoun can be selected as the subject or the object of a Chinese sentence, and time, prepositions, auxiliaries and adverbs usually occur in front of verbs while adjectives precede nouns as attributes and predicate adjectives are not used together with copulas. It is not rare to observe serial-verb constructions in Chinese sentences that include two or more verbs or verb phrases in series without any morphological markers as in example (ii) below, where the two Chinese verb phrases are parallel in relationship but no conjunction is needed in the serial-verb construction. Moreover, nearly all Chinese prepositions can function as verbs, so they are also referred to as coverbs that behave neither completely like verbs nor like prepositions in English (Li and Thompson 1981; Sun 2006). For instance, the locative 在(zài) in example (ii) is a preposition to indicate where the events of drinking tea and seeing a movie happened yesterday but 在(zài) in example (iii) serves as a verb in the sentence.

(ii). 妈妈昨天在家喝茶看电影。

mā ma zuó tiān zài jiā hē chá kàn diànyǐng  
 Mother yesterday at home drink tea see movie  
 Mother drank tea and saw a movie at home yesterday.

(iii). 她在家。

tā zài jiā  
 She be-at home  
 She is at home.

Furthermore, Li and Thompson (1981) claim that Chinese is a topic-prominent language whose syntax aims to highlight the topic-comment structure of a given sentence. After the topic is introduced at the beginning of a Chinese sentence, the description or comment about the topic follows in the rest part of the sentence. Sometimes, the basic subject – verb – object order is altered to achieve topic-prominence, and the object of a sentence can be moved to the front to take up the topic position for emphasis (Sun 2006) as in example (iv):

(iv). 这本书我已经读完了。

zhè běn shū wǒ yǐ jīng dú wán le  
 This- CL book I already read finish CRS  
 (As for) this book, I have already finished reading.

The sentence-final particle 了(le) in example (iv) is “a perfect marker” that indicates “a currently relevant state (CRS)” and “bounds the situation through signaling the event as relevant to the time of speaking” (Sun 2006: 80). The object 这本书(zhè běn shū) “this book” occupies the front position as the highlighted topic and introduces the whole sentence with a modified word order of object – subject – verb. It is possible to say that example (iv) has double subjects which are in fact a topic and a subject. The subject of a Chinese sentence can be omitted if it is inferable from the context but the topic is always emphasized, so Chinese is a topic-prominent rather than a subject-prominent language (Li and Thompson 1981; Sun 2006).

## 1.1 The Chinese characters and the Chinese conception of word

It is always difficult to identify words in Chinese, since there is no space between Chinese characters to clarify the boundary of a word, and no compulsory morphological markers are present to mark word boundary or make distinctions between root, lexeme and word (Sun 2006; Arcodia 2007). Affixes are not so widely used in Chinese as in English, and only very few prefixes and suffixes are involved in the formation of Chinese complex words (Sun 2006; Lin 2007). Whether the Chinese people have an inherent conception of word has remained a question without a satisfying answer yet, but a “fluidity” of word-morpheme boundary seems to exist in the minds of native Chinese speakers (Packard 2000), which may encourage the claim that “morphemes are more versatile in Chinese than other languages and more indeterminate with respect to their bound-free status” (Sun 2006: 46). In fact, a morpheme that seems indeterminate in Chinese can be used within “the same linguistic register” or “in different linguistic registers (e.g., classical-modern, spoken-written, colloquial-learned, dialectal, etc.)”, but it contains “separate entries in the mental lexicon for each of its free and bound identities, each controlled with no difficulty or ambiguity by the native speakers” (Packard 2000: 68-69). In addition, the Chinese notion of word is expressed by the Chinese character 词(cí), and it employs meaning as a criteria in definition which is not so convincing to scholars who might raise up their suspicions about the involvement of native speakers’ linguistic intuitions that are not scientifically reliable in making word divisions (Norman 1988). Sun (2006) assumes that a Chinese character, regardless of its morphological status, is a more natural and intuitive concept than a word for native Chinese speakers, since the use of 词(cí) to represent the idea of word is a recent phenomenon that first appeared in the nineteenth century and even Chinese dictionaries usually list up vocabularies by characters instead of words.

According to Lin (2007), how to define a word in Chinese may verify the traditional classification of Chinese as a monosyllabic language. If a word is defined as a single morpheme which is equivalent to a Chinese character, then all Chinese words are monosyllabic; but if a word is seen as an independent basic unit of a sentence, then Chinese also has polysyllabic words comprising of two or more characters. Native Chinese speakers tend to prefer the second definition of word in order to make a clearer distinction between a Chinese character and a Chinese 词(cí), and the description of the Chinese language as monosyllabic seems to fit better with old Chinese<sup>8</sup> than modern Chinese (Lin 2007), because more than 90% of words in old Chinese are overwhelmingly monosyllabic but only 5% of words in modern Chinese are monosyllabic, whereas 95% are disyllabic as the result of di- or multi-syllabification in Chinese (Chen 1999). Many scholars agree that the growing number of multisyllabic words is a notable characteristic of modern Chinese (see Norman 1988; Chen

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<sup>8</sup> In present dissertation, old Chinese (sometimes also called classical Chinese) refers to the Chinese language used from pre-Qin dynasty (before 221 B.C.) to the end of Qing dynasty (1911), and modern Chinese refers to the Chinese language used after the end of Qing dynasty till now. The present research does not make further typological divisions of old Chinese in its historical evolution over the past thousands of years, since old Chinese is not the research focus. According to Chen’s study (1999), from the 1910s to 1930s, the monosyllabic words in Chinese were over 60% of the whole number of words, but the percentage was dropping down over the following decades. This was the transitional time when a series of reforms were carried out to gradually abandon the old usages of the language and make modern Chinese widely accepted in formal occasions. Modern Mandarin Chinese is the standard modern Chinese used as the official language throughout the whole country since the foundation of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, so Chen’s data are valid to describe the features of modern Mandarin Chinese which is the target language of the present research. For more detailed discussions about typological issues in Chinese, see research works of Norman (1988), Chen (1999) and Sun (2006).

1999; Sun 2006; Lin 2007), and the shift towards di- or multi-syllabification in word formation is a natural “outcome of functional compensation for attrition in the differentiation of syllables due to the drastic reduction of the syllabary” (Chen 1999: 139) in the historical development of the language. Besides, the preference for di- or multi-syllabification in word formation continues in the creation of neologisms in modern Mandarin Chinese (Ceccagno and Basciano 2007).

## **1.2 Compounding in Chinese and the disyllabic compounds with 家(jiā)**

As the most productive word-formation strategy in Chinese, compounding is a key factor that contributes to the dominance of disyllable words in modern Mandarin Chinese (Norman 1988; Sun 2006), and almost 70% to 80% of modern Chinese words are compounds (Zhou et al. 1999; Ceccagno and Basciano 2007). Compounding is so significantly pervasive in Chinese that the morphological complexity of Chinese is mainly evidenced by compounding (Chao 1968; Li and Thompson 1981; Packard 2000; Yu 2003), which also functions as a rule to coin new Chinese words (Ceccagno and Basciano 2007). Nevertheless, it is never easy to define and classify Chinese compounds because “no matter what criteria one picks, there is no clear demarcation between compounds and noncompounds”, since “sometimes a component morpheme is from classical (old) Chinese and no longer functions as a free morpheme in modern spoken Mandarin”; “sometimes the meanings of the component morphemes are totally unrelated to the meaning of the entire word”; “sometimes the meaning of a polysyllabic word can only indirectly” or “metaphorically relate to the meanings of its component morphemes” (Li and Thompson 1981: 45). Moreover, no well-defined phonological criteria exist to distinguish words from phrases, which make it impossible to draw a fast and clear boundary between morphology and syntax in Chinese, and all the syntactic relationships found in phrases and sentences can also be found in Chinese compounds (Norman 1988).

Given the typological differences between Mandarin Chinese and Indo-European languages, a compound in Chinese can be broadly defined as a word consisting of “at least two morphemes neither of which is an affix” (Norman 1988: 156), so each Chinese compound is a di- or multi-syllabic word constituted by two or more Chinese characters. Actually, compounding operations in modern Mandarin Chinese allow two non-affixal, bound morphemes, two free morphemes or a combination of a bound morpheme and a free morpheme to form disyllabic compounds (Sun 2006), and Chinese compounds can be classified into subject-predicate compounds, coordinative compounds, modifier-head compounds, verb-object compounds and verb-resultative compounds based on the syntactic and semantic relationships between compound components (Liao 2014). The analysis of compounding in a language involves discussions about the issue of headedness in compounds, and the head of a compound refers to the compound component that projects its categorical identity and has the semantic dominance of the whole compound, so a compound with a head is known as an endocentric compound while a compound without a head is an exocentric compound (Liao 2014). Compared with English compounds largely following the right-headed rule (Lieber 1992), Chinese compounds do not show their heads so straightforwardly, and scholars are divided in their views about the controversial issue of headedness in Chinese due to the complexity and variety of Chinese compounds (Ceccagno and Basciano 2007; Liao 2014).

Huang (1998) claims that Chinese compounds are headless without being governed by the headedness rules, as it is impossible to generalize which compound constituent can function as a head in a Chinese compound, and neither the right-headed rule nor the left-headed rule seems to enjoy a privilege status in disyllabic Chinese compounds, while Starosta et al. (1998) argue that Chinese compounds all follow the right-headed rule which is more visible in multisyllabic compounds. Packard (2000) discovers that 90% of nominal Chinese compounds have a noun on the right and 85% of verbal Chinese compounds have a verb on the left, so his Headedness Principle indicates that the Chinese nominal compounds are predominantly right-headed while most verbal compounds are left-headed. With research analyses of disyllabic Chinese neologisms, Ceccagno and Basciano (2007, 2009) argue that both endocentric and exocentric compounds exist in Chinese, and endocentric compounds include right-headed (nouns, verbs and adjectives), left-headed (verbs) and two-headed compounds (nouns, verbs and adjectives), but there is no canonical position for the head, and none of these three head positions exhibited by Chinese compounds can be regarded as peripheral. They have also detected a pattern in endocentric Chinese compounds that nominal compounds are mainly right-headed, while verbal compounds can be both right-headed and left-headed if coordinative two-headed compounds are excluded. It seems that many scholars would agree that most of the nominal compounds are right-headed, and verbal compounds are largely left-headed in modern Mandarin Chinese (Packard 2000; Sun 2006; Ceccagno and Basciano 2007, 2009; Liao 2014). The disyllabic compounds with 家(jiā) retrieved from the language corpus might well comply with the same pattern in terms of the headedness rules, since the majority of these compounds with 家(jiā) are nominal and verbal compounds.

## **2. Metaphor and metonymy in the meaning construction of 家(jiā) and the Chinese compounds with 家(jiā)**

In cognitive linguistics, the general knowledge and personal experience are organized through cognitive models, and the study of meaning holds a model of prototype categorization, claiming that categories are mentally represented as prototypes and all category members are held together by “family resemblance” to a prototype (Kövecses 2006). Understood as the best examples of categories, most of prototypes are culturally defined, and the prototype-based organization in categories can be applied to linguistic research about categories for everyday concepts, senses of words and linguistic concepts (Kövecses 2006). Prototype effects have shown up in all areas of language such as phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics (Lakoff 1987). Moreover, the cognitive linguistic theories of metaphor and metonymy are applicable for semantic studies of polysemy and compounds in language, since “meaning extension often takes place on the basis of conceptual metaphor and metonymy” that “serve as cognitive links between two or more distinct senses of a word” (Kövecses 2010a: 254). The pervasiveness and the function of metaphor and metonymy in compounding have been explored by the research of Benczes (2005, 2006, 2010, 2011), which focuses particularly on the analyses of compounds in English. She claims that in compounding operations, metaphor or metonymy may act upon “the modifier, the profile determinant, the relation between the two constituents of the compound, or the compound as a whole” (Benczes 2005: 180). In addition to their frequent participation in creating



compounds, metaphor and metonymy can also maximize the semantic effects of creative compounds in English (Benczes 2006, 2010).

With regard to 家(jiā) in Chinese, scholars have discovered that the cognitive model of 家(jiā) is motivated by both bodily experience of family life and the Chinese culture characterized by the centrality of the family in social and ideological systems which can encourage the development of a strong sense of community affiliation that leads to the merging of family life and social life in China (Zhou 2011; Feng 2011). The figurative extension of familial relations to interpersonal relations and the use of kinship terms to non-relatives in Chinese social interactions are “consistent with the Confucian teaching about *all within the four seas are brothers*” (Sun 2006: 145). Furthermore, 家(jiā) as a polysemous word develops a radiant semantic category with the original, basic meaning of “family; home” as its prototypical meaning in modern Mandarin Chinese, and metaphor and metonymy are important cognitive mechanisms for the semantic extensions of 家(jiā) from its prototypical meaning to non-prototypical meanings presented in the Chinese dictionaries (Zhou 2011; Feng 2011). It is also observed that metaphor and metonymy play an important role in the formation and the meaning construction of the Chinese compounds, idioms and phrases. For example, the ANGER IS FIRE metaphor is at work in the compound 发火(fā huǒ) (release-fire) and the idiom 怒火中烧(nù huǒ zhōng shāo) (anger-fire-middle-burn) which mean “become angry” and “burning rage” in Chinese respectively (Sun 2006). The PART FOR THE WHOLE metonymy is activated in the compound 眉目(méi mù) (brow-eye) and the idiom 眉目清秀(méi mù qīng xiù) (brow-eye-clear-pretty), where the most salient parts of the human face are metonymically used to refer to a person’s face or appearance (Yu 2004; Sun 2006). Therefore, it is possible to find out what metaphors and metonymies are involved in the meaning construction of 家(jiā) and the compounds with 家(jiā) and what kinds of words can form disyllabic compounds with 家(jiā) from the linguistic materials in the Modern Chinese Corpus.

### 3. “X + 家(jiā)” and “家(jiā) + Y” compounds in the Modern Chinese Corpus

The Modern Chinese Corpus cannot automatically generate a result list of Chinese compounds with 家(jiā), but it can offer a comparatively exhaustive list of 1083 Chinese words and phrases containing 家(jiā) with information of occurrences and frequency after arranging the word retrieval conditions to sort out all eligible words and phrases in the corpus, regardless of the number of constituent characters in each word or phrase. A close examination of the corpus results reveals that the character 家(jiā) does not have a fixed position in constituting polysyllabic Chinese words or phrases, and 471 entries on the result list are names for people, objects, places, organizations and companies, which occupy about 43.5% of all the corpus results. Moreover, around three quarters of the retrieved words and phrases are multisyllabic, and only 276 are disyllabic, from which 189 compounds with 家(jiā) can be identified under the guidance of the semantic and syntactic rules in Chinese, and 88 disyllabic words are discarded because they are names or one of the constituent morphemes is an affix.

According to the location of the character 家(jiā), the identified compounds may fall into two general categories: “X + 家(jiā)” compounds (102 in total) and “家(jiā) + Y” compounds (87 in total). “X” and “Y” refer to any Chinese characters that can precede and

follow 家(jiā). Although the meanings of “family and household” and “the dwelling place of a family (home)” are listed in the Modern Chinese Dictionary (2003) as two separate meanings of 家(jiā), they are grouped together for analysis in the following tables (graphs) due to the difficulty to distinguish them clearly in those decontextualized compounds with 家(jiā) on the corpus result list. Besides, the character 家(jiā) means “family, home or household” in most of the corpus results, indicating that the “family, home or household” meaning is indeed the prototypical meaning of 家(jiā) in terms of its high distribution in the corpus. Based on the lexical categories of the constituent words, all disyllabic compounds with 家(jiā) are further classified into “noun + 家(jiā)”, “家(jiā) + noun”, “verb + 家(jiā)”, “家(jiā) + verb”, “adjective + 家(jiā)” and “家(jiā) + adjective” compounds for detailed discussions in the following sections.

### 3.1 The “Noun + 家(jiā)” and “家(jiā) + Noun” compounds

There are 123 “noun + 家(jiā)” and “家(jiā) + noun” compounds on the corpus result list, and noun-noun compounds with 家(jiā) are the largest group of disyllabic Chinese compounds with 家(jiā) in the corpus, in which 家(jiā) displays a variety of meanings. Eighteen “noun + 家(jiā)” nominal compounds are discovered with 家(jiā) holding its prototypical meaning of family, home, or household, and most of them are right-headed compounds where 家(jiā) is the head and the noun on the left is the modifier to provide explicit information about whose family or what family it is, as shown in table 1 below:

Table 1: The “noun + 家(jiā)” compounds in which 家(jiā) means family, home or household

No.	“noun + 家(jiā)” compounds in which 家(jiā) means family, home, or household	Number of appearance	Frequency %
1	国家 (guó jiā) country; state; nation	10139	1.0610
2	人家 (rén jiā) human family; household	1794	0.1877
3	娘家 (niáng jiā) home of parents of a married woman	107	0.0112
4	皇家 (huáng jiā) emperor’s (royal) family	67	0.0070
5	婆家 (pó jiā) the husband’s family	42	0.0044
6	女家 (nǚ jiā) the bride’s family	33	0.0035
7	夫家 (fū jiā) the husband’s family	32	0.0033
8	世家 (shì jiā) aristocratic family (of many generations)	30	0.0031
9	丧家 (sāng jiā) family that is holding a funeral	27	0.0028
10	男家 (nán jiā) the bridegroom’s family	25	0.0026
11	本家 (běn jiā) origin family clan	21	0.0022
12	邻家 (lín jiā) neighboring family	17	0.0018
13	身家 (shēn jiā) one and one’s family; family origin/property	13	0.0013
14	外家 (wài jiā) family of grandmother and grandfather of mother's line; married woman's parent's home	4	0.0004

15	母家 (mǔ jiā)	home of parents of a married woman	4	0.0004
16	西家 (xī jiā)	family living at the west	3	0.0003
17	俗家 (sú jiā)	a monk's parents' home	2	0.0002
18	主家 (zhǔ jiā)	the host/master's family	1	0.0001

The involvement of cultural elements as well as the conceptual tools of metaphor and metonymy is noticed in the meaning construction procedures of the “noun + 家(jiā)” compounds. For example, the first compound 国家(guó jiā) in table 1 is a left-headed compound with its meaning indicated by the head character 国(guó) which means “country, state, or nation” in Chinese. As a frequently used compound, 国家(guó jiā) has the highest number of occurrences in the Modern Chinese Corpus, and it also appears in 65 multisyllabic words, 55 of which have 国家(guó jiā) as a constitutive part of the names for governmental agencies. The formation of 国家(guó jiā) is based on the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor that is deeply rooted in the Chinese culture and history, and scholars have demonstrated that the concepts of FAMILY and COUNTRY/STATE/NATION are closely related in China due to the shaping effects of the traditional patriarchal clan system and the widespread Confucian teachings that have been dominant in the country for thousands of years (see Wu 2006; Qian 2008; Feng 2011).

The ancient Chinese people led a self-sufficient, agricultural life with their members of family clans living together, and powerful leaders of big family clans gradually became kings of slavery states that were governed under the model of a family, so the founding of a country/state/nation in China did not break kinship but greatly strengthened blood ties through joining family connections with political interests (Wu 2006). The shared structures and constitutions between a country/state/nation and a family were the foundation for the fusion of the two concepts (COUNTRY/STATE/NATION and FAMILY) in feudal China, when the vassal states were equaled to families of the feudal dukes or princes (Qian 2006). Therefore, the formation of 国家(guó jiā) reflects the intertwining relationship between FAMILY and COUNTRY/STATE/NATION in China, and the early usages of the compound can be found in Chinese classics of the Spring and Autumn Period (551 B.C.-479 B.C.) when plebeians started to develop their own notion of FAMILY that was not identical to the previous conception of COUNTRY/STATE/NATION (Feng 2011), so the introduction of 国家(guó jiā) to refer to a country/state/nation could be seen as a result of di- or multisyllabication to avoid ambiguity in communication. It seems that the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor is activated unconsciously when 国家(guó jiā) is in use because this metaphor is so conventional that it has been lexicalized into the compound 国家(guó jiā) for more than two millennia.

The compound 人家(rén jiā) have different meanings in different contexts, and the FAMILY FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY metonymy might help to construct the “I/me” or “him/her/they” meaning for 人家(rén jiā) when it functions as an appellation pronoun. The multiple usages of 人家(rén jiā) may explain its high frequency in the corpus, and native Chinese speakers can judge its on-line meaning from the context where it is used. The compound 身家(shēn jiā) seems to be double-headed, since the meanings of both constituents contribute equally to the meaning of the compound. The character 身(shēn) means “body”, and it acquires the meaning of “oneself” through the PART FOR THE WHOLE and BODY FOR THE PERSON metonymies. The metonymy FAMILY FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY

may construct the “one and one’s family” meaning for 身家(shēn jiā), while the meaning of “family property” is obtained from the FAMILY FOR FAMILY PROPERTY metonymy. The compound 外家(wài jiā) is another example to show the influence of the Chinese culture in compounding. The character 外(wài) shares the meaning of the English word “outside”, and being outside can be figuratively regarded as staying away from power control through the activation of the metaphor POWER IS A CONTAINER and its entailments of BEING IMPORTANT AND POWERFUL IS BEING INSIDE and BEING UNIMPORTANT AND POWERLESS IS BEING OUTSIDE. 外家(wài jiā) records the inequality in power and status of the natal families of a married couple which originated from the traditional Chinese patrilineal clanship that bestowed lower status and less power upon a married woman’s natal family or her grandparents’ family of her mother’s line than her husband’s family in dealing with family matters in feudal China.

On the other hand, more than half of the disyllabic “家(jiā) + Y” compounds are “家(jiā)+ noun” compounds where 家(jiā) shows the prototypical meaning of family, home or household and serves as the modifier in the majority of the compounds. Table 2 offers the list of “家(jiā)+ noun” compounds and their frequency information in the corpus:

Table 2: The “家(jiā) + noun” compounds in which 家(jiā) means family, home or household

No.	“家(jiā) + noun” compounds in which 家(jiā) means family, home or household	Number of appearance	Frequency %
1	家庭 (jiā tíng) family	2119	0.2216
2	家里 (jiā lǐ) inside home/family; family member(s)	1668	0.1745
3	家伙 (jiā huò) family member; partner; weapon; tool;	544	0.0569
4	家乡 (jiā xiāng) hometown; native place	399	0.0418
5	家长 (jiā zhǎng) head of a family; parents	385	0.0402
6	家属 (jiā shǔ) family members	293	0.0307
7	家中 (jiā zhōng) inside a family/home; family member(s)	280	0.0293
8	家族 (jiā zú) family clan	260	0.0272
9	家务 (jiā wù) household chores	159	0.0166
10	家人 (jiā rén) family member(s)	144	0.0151
11	家具 (jiā jù) furniture	135	0.0141
12	家门 (jiā mén) home gate; one’s family background	108	0.0113
13	家园 (jiā yuán) home; homeland	41	0.0043
14	家境 (jiā jìng) family circumstances	35	0.0037
15	家业 (jiā yè) family property; family business handed down from ancestors	30	0.0031
16	家信 (jiā xìn) family letter	29	0.0030
17	家俱 (jiā jù) family furniture	29	0.0030
18	家什 (jiā shí) family utensil(s)	21	0.0022
19	家眷 (jiā juàn) family member(s); wife (and children)	19	0.0020

20	家内 (jiā nèi)	inside family/ home; family member(s)	17	0.0018
21	家规 (jiā guī)	family rule(s)	15	0.0016
22	家法 (jiā fǎ)	family discipline (exercised by the head of a feudal household)	15	0.0016
23	家谱 (jiā pǔ)	family genealogy	15	0.0016
24	家史 (jiā shǐ)	family history	14	0.0015
25	家世 (jiā shì)	family's social standing	13	0.0014
26	家政 (jiā zhèng)	housekeeping	12	0.0013
27	家事 (jiā shì)	family (domestic) matters	12	0.0013
28	家道 (jiā dào)	family financial situation	12	0.0012
29	家电 (jiā diàn)	household electrical appliances	12	0.0012
30	家财 (jiā cái)	family fortune	11	0.0011
31	家底 (jiā dǐ)	family property accumulated over a long time	11	0.0011
32	家口 (jiā kǒu)	family members	9	0.0009
33	家珍 (jiā zhēn)	family treasures	9	0.0009
34	家训 (jiā xùn)	family motto	8	0.0008
35	家宴 (jiā yàn)	family feast	7	0.0007
36	家宅 (jiā zhái)	family residence	7	0.0007
37	家臣 (jiā chén)	feudal family retainer	7	0.0007
38	家奴 (jiā nú)	family bond servant	7	0.0007
39	家风 (jiā fēng)	family tradition/style/traits	7	0.0007
40	家书 (jiā shū)	family letter	5	0.0005
41	家丁 (jiā dīng)	family retainer	5	0.0005
42	家室 (jiā shì)	family; wife; residence	4	0.0004
43	家资 (jiā zī)	family wealth	3	0.0003
44	家贼 (jiā zéi)	thief within a family	3	0.0003
45	家仇 (jiā chóu)	family feud	3	0.0003
46	家景 (jiā jǐng)	family circumstances	2	0.0002
47	家丑 (jiā chǒu)	family scandal	2	0.0002
48	家庙 (jiā miào)	family ancestral temple	1	0.0001
49	家仆 (jiā pú)	family servants	1	0.0001
50	家址 (jiā zhǐ)	family address	1	0.0001
51	家祠 (jiā cí)	family memorial shrine	1	0.0001
52	家范 (jiā fàn)	family model	1	0.0001
53	家戒 (jiā jiè)	family discipline	1	0.0001
54	家记 (jiā jì)	family record	1	0.0001
55	家宰 (jiā zǎi)	noble family's steward	1	0.0001

Metaphor and metonymy also participate in the meaning construction processes of “家(jiā) + noun” compounds. For instance, 家庭(jiā tíng) is a left-headed compound sharing the meaning of “family” with 家(jiā), and the character 庭(tíng) originally refers to the yard of a house, so the compound 家庭(jiā tíng) may acquire its meaning through the RESIDENTIAL

PLACE OF A FAMILY FOR THE FAMILY metonymy. Besides, 家庭(jiā tíng) does not have so many meanings as 家(jiā), so no ambiguity will be aroused in its application in verbal communication, which may explain its high frequency in the corpus as a commonly used compound to convey the “family” meaning in modern Mandarin Chinese that is characterized by the use of disyllabic words instead of monosyllabic words.

Moreover, Chinese characters such as 里(lǐ), 中(zhōng) and 内(nèi) are location nouns classified as bound root morphemes in Chinese (Packard 2000). With the shared meanings of “in, into and inside”, these three location nouns can trigger the image schema of CONTAINER when they are used to create the compounds of 家里(jiā lǐ), 家中(jiā zhōng) and 家内(jiā nèi), with the FAMILY IS A CONTAINER metaphor activated to build up the meanings for the constituted compounds. The CONTAINER schema comes from the direct personal experience with containers of various shapes including the human body in the real world, and the basic elements of the CONTAINER schema are the interior, exterior and the boundary, so an entity is either inside the container or outside the container (Lakoff 1987; Kövecses 2006). With the lexicalization of the FAMILY AS CONTAINER metaphor in the compounds of 家里(jiā lǐ), 家中(jiā zhōng) and 家内(jiā nèi), the metonymies of FAMILY FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY and PLACE FOR THE PEOPLE AT THE PLACE may join together to produce the “family member(s)” meaning for the three compounds, as in the following examples from the corpus:

- (v). 奴隶不仅供家内役使，也用于生产劳动，…… (《蒙古奴隶制研究》；高文德; 1980-9-1)  
Slave not only let family inside enslave, also use to produce work……  
The slaves were not only enslaved by the family members but also took up productive labor…… (The Research of the Mongolian Slavery; Wen de Gao; 1980-9-1)
- (vi). 留在茶点社，家里反对，连爱人也不支持。(中国青年报; 1981-6-6)  
Stay at tea and pastries shop, family inside oppose, even spouse also not support.  
(The idea of) staying in the tea and pastries shop was opposed by the family members. Even (my) spouse did not support it, either. (China Youth Daily; 1981-6-6)
- (vii). 不过，由于林丽的研究工作地点是保密的，她走后不能与家中保持通信。(《失踪之谜》；叶永烈; 1981-12-1)  
However, since Lin Li research work place be confidential, she leave after not can with family inside keep correspondence.  
However, since Li Lin’s research work place was confidential, she could not keep correspondence with her family members after she left. (The Mystery of Disappearance; Yong lie Ye; 1981-12-1)

If 家里(jiā lǐ), 家中(jiā zhōng) and 家内(jiā nèi) in each Chinese sentence above are not metonymically understood as family members but interpreted as the inside part of a family or home, problems will occur in making sense of the whole sentence. In fact, among 1668 occurrences of 家里(jiā lǐ), 243 instances of the compound are used metonymically to refer to the members inside a family which occupy almost 15% of its appearances in the corpus,

and 17 out of 280 examples with 家中(jiā zhōng) are found where 家中(jiā zhōng) refers to family members but only two examples have 家内(jiā nèi) understood as the members of a family. Even though the metonymical usages of these three compounds are not dominant in the corpus, it seems that the FAMILY FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY metonymy is not novel in Chinese given the high frequency enjoyed by 家里(jiā lǐ) and 家中(jiā zhōng). Furthermore, 家里(jiā lǐ) is much more frequently used than 家中(jiā zhōng) and 家内(jiā nèi) with regard to the frequency information retrieved from the corpus. The character 里(lǐ) only indicates the inside part of an entity while the character 中(zhōng) has not only the meaning of “inside” but also other meanings of “center” and “middle” in Chinese. The character 内(nèi) means “inside” or “within”, emphasizing more about the boundary of an entity that is not allowed to be exceeded. So, a possible reason for the preference of 家里(jiā lǐ) is that 里(lǐ) may convey the “in” or “inside” meaning more accurately without other possible interpretations.

The compound 家口(jiā kǒu) is another example to show the participation of metonymy in constructing the meaning of a compound. The character 口(kǒu) means “mouth”, an important organ for humans and animals to maintain life, and 口(kǒu) is also used as a classifier to measure people in Chinese. The number of the mouth in a family equals to the number of family members, so 口(kǒu) as a body part is used to refer to people when the metonymies of PART FOR THE WHOLE and BODY PART FOR THE PERSON are triggered. A more specific metonymy MOUTH FOR THE PERSON underlies 家口(jiā kǒu) and the compound is usually comprehended through its metonymic meaning of “family member(s)” rather than “family mouth(s)”, as in the corpus examples below:

- (viii). 他没带家口来! (《春城无处不飞花》; 成阳, 海默; 1958-10-1)  
 He no bring family mouth come!  
 He did not bring his family members with him! (*Flying Petals Everywhere in the Spring City*; Yang Cheng, Mo Hai; 1958-10-1)
- (ix). ..... 但是在那个社会里, 单纯地搞音乐怎能供养家口? (《啊! 华夏之声》; 刘邦立; 1984-1-10)  
 But at that society inside, simply make music how can support family mouth?  
 But in that society, how could (he) simply live on music and support family members in that society? (*Ah! The Sound of Huaxia*; Bang li Liu; 1984-1-10)

In examples (viii) and (ix), 家口(jiā kǒu) needs to be understood as members of a family so that the whole sentence is comprehensible. Moreover, the compound 家伙(jiā huō) has various meanings in different contexts. In Chinese, the character 火(huǒ) means “fire”, and every ten soldiers used to share the fire to cook in war times in the past, so the character 伙(huō) originally referred to the people who share the fire together and gradually developed the meaning of “partner, mate, or companion”. In some local Chinese dialects, 家伙(jiā huō) is used casually to address a person’s family members and good friends to express a close human relation. In other situations, 家伙(jiā huō) can also convey a sense of humor and joking irony if it is applied to a person who is a celebrity or difficult to deal with. Since 火(huǒ) is an important element in human life and the character 伙(huō) originates from 火

(huǒ), the compound 家伙(jiā huō) is also applied to address domestic animals, family tools or even weapons that are seen as inseparable partners in life. The DOMESTIC ANIMALS, FAMILY TOOLS OR WEAPONS ARE HUMAN PARTNERS metaphor may help to create the various meanings for 家伙(jiā huō), and the TRADITION OR STYLE IS WIND metaphor may contribute to the meaning of 家风 (jiā fēng), showing again the involvement of metaphor and metonymy in the meaning construction of “家(jiā) + noun” compounds in Chinese.

Except the prototypical meaning of family, home or household, other meanings of 家(jiā) are also expressed in the Chinese compounds with 家(jiā), and table 3 presents a collection of “noun + 家(jiā)” compounds which have 家(jiā) as a person with special identify or a family dealing with a certain trade or profession:

Table 3: The “noun + 家(jiā)” compounds in which 家(jiā) means people with special identities or families that deal with a certain trade or profession

No.	“noun+家(jiā)” compounds in which 家(jiā) means people with special identities or families that deal with a certain trade or profession	Number of appearance	Frequency %
1	厂家 (chǎng jiā) manufacturer	107	0.0112
2	农家 (nóng jiā) peasant; farmer	93	0.0097
3	东家 (dōng jiā) master; landlord	70	0.0073
4	酒家 (jiǔ jiā) liquor shop; restaurant	34	0.0035
5	船家 (chuán jiā) boatman	31	0.0032
6	医家 (yī jiā) doctor	31	0.0032
7	店家 (diàn jiā) owner or manager of a hotel, shop or restaurant	15	0.0016
8	商家 (shāng jiā) seller	13	0.0014
9	渔家 (yú jiā) fishermen	12	0.0013
10	庄家 (zhuāng jiā) dealer; declarer in gambling	7	0.0007
11	房家 (fáng jiā) owner of the house; landlord	2	0.0002
12	耕家 (gēng jiā) large farming family	1	0.0001

These compounds in table 3 are all left-headed nominal compounds, and the head word of each compound can indicate a profession. The formation and comprehension of these compounds may rely on the metonymies of FAMILY FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY and PROFESSION FOR PEOPLE WHO HOLD THE PROFESSION. In the past, most trade and business in China were run by individual families, and it was a custom that children of a family would take over their family business when they grew up. The existence of such inherited family businesses could be a reason for creating these compounds to address those people or families with the names of professions they are engaged in. In addition, some left-headed “noun + 家(jiā)” compounds are appellations for oneself or other people with shared goals, interests or properties as listed in table 4 where the compounds of 冤家(yuān jiā), 仙家(xiān jiā), 宾家(bīn jiā) and 仇家(chóu jiā) can be regarded as linguistic instantiations of the PEOPLE WITH SIMILAR INTERESTS OR PROPERTIES ARE FAMILY metaphor and the FAMILY FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY metonymy.

Table 4: The “noun + 家(jiā)” compounds in which 家(jiā) is specially designated to address the speaker or other people



No.	“noun + 家(jiā)” compounds in which 家(jiā) is specially designated to address the speaker or other people	Number of appearance	Frequency %
1	亲家 (qīng jiā) relatives by marriage	62	0.0065
2	冤家 (yuān jiā) opponent; enemy; foe	26	0.0027
3	病家 (bìng jiā) patient	6	0.0006
4	奴家 (nú jiā) a title used by women to call themselves in feudal China	3	0.0003
5	仙家 (xiān jiā) immortal, celestial being	2	0.0002
6	宾家 (bīn jiā) guest	1	0.0001
7	仇家 (chóu jiā) foe	1	0.0001

亲家(qīng jiā) is the most frequent compound in table 4 because it is a commonly used compound in Chinese to refer to those family relatives made through marriage, especially parents of one's daughter-in-law or son-in-law. The compound 奴家(nú jiā) is an old expression used by Chinese women in feudal times to call themselves whose inferior social status was clearly revealed by the compound because the character 奴(nú) means “slave” in Chinese. The use of 奴家(nú jiā) is rare nowadays, and it only appears in the literary works with stories happening in feudal China in the corpus. The Chinese cultural heritage has also been sustained by the Chinese language and conveyed through the compounds with 家(jiā) in which 家(jiā) appears as school of academic thought as shown in table 5 below:

Table 5: The “noun + 家(jiā)” compounds with 家(jiā) as school of academic thought

No.	“noun + 家(jiā)” compounds with 家(jiā) as school of academic thought	Number of appearance	Frequency %
1	儒家 (rú jiā) Confucian school	150	0.0157
2	道家 (dào jiā) Taoist school	34	0.0036
3	法家 (fǎ jiā) the Legalists	30	0.0031
4	佛家 (fó jiā) Buddhism	21	0.0022
5	墨家 (mò jiā) the Mohist School	4	0.0004
6	禅家 (chán jiā) the Zen school	2	0.0002

During the historical period from the pre-Qin times to the early years of the Han Dynasty, the Chinese academic world cultivated a variety of schools of thought, and they contended with each other to boost both philosophical and social developments. Confucianism claimed that mankind would be in harmony with the universe if people could adhere to their specific social roles and behave with righteousness and restraint. Taoism discussed the ethics of human behaviors based on articulating cycles of change in the natural and human worlds through hexagrams and attached importance to the naturalness, simplicity and spontaneity rather on rigid rituals and social classes. The Legalists laid the foundation of the Chinese law theory and legal practices. Introduced into China from India during the Han dynasty in the first century, Buddhism became the state religion of China in the Sui dynasty (581-618 A.D.) and Zen was a sect of Buddhism. Mohism advocated universal love and opposed wars of aggression, and Mohists were well disciplined scholars who greatly contributed to the development of logic and science. Most of the schools of thought came into being more than

two thousand years ago, but all of them have exerted profound influences on the Chinese culture and society.

All the compounds in table 5 are left-headed compounds, among which 儒家(rú jiā) ranks the first in the frequency rate, and it often refers to the Confucian school of thought, even though Confucianism is sometimes expressed by the founder's family name Kong in Chinese. The character 儒(rú) refers to the knowledgeable Confucian scholars, and the high frequency of 儒家(rú jiā) in the corpus proves the close relationship between language and culture, since Confucianism is often mentioned as the cultural symbol of traditional Chinese philosophy. Moreover, it is likely that the PEOPLE WITH SAME ACADEMIC THOUGHTS ARE FAMILY metaphor underlies the “school of academic thought” meaning of 家(jiā). In ancient China, public schools were not in practice, so academic knowledge was either developed and passed down through the family line or spread by scholars who held private classes to teach their students or followers, and the interpersonal relationships between teachers and students or followers were largely modeled on familial relations. The students or followers of a scholar would study and share the same academic thoughts as their teacher, and show the same respect to the teacher as they do to their parents. Therefore, people with same academic thoughts could be considered as members of the same family.

Another six left-headed “noun + 家(jiā)” compounds are identified from the corpus where 家(jiā) means people who are experts or specialists in a certain field with specialized knowledge or abundant practical experience or people who are engaged in specialized activities. Table 6 shows that 专家(zhuān jiā) and 行家(háng jiā) are two compounds sharing the meaning of “expert”, but they are actually used in different situations in Chinese because the character 专(zhuān) means “specialty” while the character 行(háng) means “trade”. The character 家(jiā) in each remaining compound follows the name of an academic subject or art which can never refer to people without 家(jiā) in Chinese.

Table 6: The “noun + 家(jiā)” compounds in which 家(jiā) means people who are experts or specialists in a certain field with specialized knowledge or abundant practical experience or people who are engaged in specialized activities

No.	“noun + 家(jiā)” compounds in which 家(jiā) means people who are experts or specialists in a certain field with specialized knowledge or abundant practical experience; people who are engaged in specialized activities	Number of appearance	Frequency %
1	专家 (zhuān jiā)      specialist; expert	756	0.0811
2	画家 (huà jiā)      painter	532	0.0557
3	行家 (háng jiā)      expert	48	0.0050
4	史家 (shǐ jiā)      historian	19	0.0020
5	兵家 (bīng jiā)      military strategist	18	0.0019
6	书家 (shū jiā)      calligrapher	11	0.0012

Before the establishment of modern education system in China, professional knowledge, practical work experience, skills in art or special trade were usually titled with family names and passed on by male descendents, so the metonymy FAMILY FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY may help 家(jiā) to acquire the meaning of “specialist or expert”. It is also observed

that 家(jiā) in this group of compounds shares an overlapping part of meaning with 家(jiā) in those compounds in table 3 where 家(jiā) means people with special identities or families that deal with a certain trade or profession, since most experts and specialists may hold jobs in their specialized fields and make a living on their professional knowledge. The difference is that the character 家(jiā) in the compounds of table 3 mainly follows a trade or profession and refers to people who hold the profession but not necessarily work as experts. However, 家(jiā) in the compounds of table 6 often follows academic subjects or artistic subjects and emphasizes the master's level of a person's expertise or skills.

In fact, the Modern Chinese Corpus provides more multisyllabic words with similar usage of 家(jiā) following the names of various domains of science, art and academic subjects, as listed in appendix 1. It is hard to decide whether 家(jiā) is used as root morpheme or a suffix in the words in appendix 1 and those compounds in table 3 and table 6 because 家(jiā) is considered as a full word with concrete meanings in Chinese, but it functions more or less like an equivalent of the English suffix '-ist' or '-er', making it valid to classify 家(jiā) as a suffix in those words and compounds (Li and Thompson 1981). However, there is no agreement on whether 家(jiā) is a suffix or simply a root morpheme among Chinese scholars, so 家(jiā) is in general considered as a root morpheme in Chinese (Feng 2011), and it contributes a positive implication to those words in appendix 1, most of which are favorable appellations or social titles to address people whose professional accomplishments are acknowledged with respect and praise from the public. Therefore, a person who simply studies or teaches an academic subject, or holds a job in a profession usually does not have a title from appendix 1 until he or she becomes an professional expert with well-known achievements.

Furthermore, 官家(guān jiā), 上家(shàng jiā) and 下家(xià jiā) are the only three left-headed "noun + 家(jiā)" compounds in which 家(jiā) refers to one opposite side among all parties (involved in an event or comparison). With 15 appearances in the corpus, 官家(guān jiā) is a more frequently used compound than 上家(shàng jiā) and 下家(xià jiā) which appear only one and two times respectively. 官家(guān jiā) means "the government" or "the official", and the broad masses of the people are the opposite associated with it. The character 官(guān) refers to the officials or officers working at the government. When the compound 官家(guān jiā) is understood as "the government", the PEOPLE WORKING AT THE INSTITUTION FOR THE INSTITUTION metonymy is at work for such an interpretation. The meaning of the compound 下家(xià jiā) is the person on one's left when playing cards or playing a drinkers' wager game, and it is also used as a humble way to say one's own family in a Chinese local dialect. The compound with the opposite meaning of 下家(xià jiā) is 上家(shàng jiā), referring to the person on one's right when playing cards or playing a drinkers' wager game. The meanings of 上家(shàng jiā) and 下家(xià jiā) in cards playing might be constructed with the help of the PEOPLE WITH SIMILAR INTERESTS ARE FAMILY metaphor.

It is necessary to note that the Chinese characters 上(shàng) and 下(xià) are originally locative nouns, meaning "up" and "down" respectively, but they also indicate the supervisor-subordinate interpersonal relationships in Chinese. In ancient China, the left side was regarded as the "up" position for respected and powerful people while the right side was the "down" position for less powerful people, but such custom had been changing all the time along history, with even reversed interpretations in certain dynasties. In modern formal social interactions, the left side is usually seen as the "up", respectful position. The preference of the "up" direction as the desirable position may come from relating the "up" direction with the

heaven and power, while the “down” direction is undesirable for its association with the hell and powerlessness. The SUPERIOR/CONTROL IS UP and SUBORDINATE/LACK OF CONTROL IS DOWN metaphors underlie the figurative usages of Chinese locative nouns to express the hierarchical human relations, proving that the Chinese people share the CONTROL IS UP and LACK OF CONTROL IS DOWN metaphors with English speaking people (Kövecses 2010a).

Except for “noun + 家(jiā)” compounds in which 家(jiā) is not interpreted as family, home or household, table 7 below displays a group of right-headed “家(jiā) + noun” compounds where the modifier 家(jiā) holds the meaning of domesticated (opposite to wild, usually used to refer to animals). Mainly constituted by the character 家(jiā) and names of animals, these compounds are generally used to name those animals kept as pets, business products or food. If domestication is considered as a type of animal husbandry activity in family life, then the FAMILY FOR ANIMAL HUSBANDRY metonymy might contribute to the meaning of “domesticated” for 家(jiā) in these compounds. However, birds such as swallows and sparrows are not seen as food or pets, and 家(jiā) in their names only indicates their close relations with human family life, since they often have nests under the house roofs. Rats or mice also have their Chinese name with 家(jiā) to show their connection to the human house. In China, if animals live around or inside the family house instead of having their nests in the wildness and share a closer relationship with human beings, they are named with 家(jiā) to differentiate these animals from those species living on the wild land. It seems that almost all domesticated animals show up in table 7, which in a way proves the importance of agriculture in China.

Table 7: The “家(jiā) + noun” compounds in which 家(jiā) means domesticated (opposite to wild, usually used to refer to animals)

No.	“家(jiā) + noun” compounds in which 家(jiā) means domesticated (opposite to wild, usually used to refer to animals)		Number of appearance	Frequency %
1	家畜 (jiā chù)	domestic animal	156	0.0163
2	家兔 (jiā tù)	domestic rabbit	56	0.0059
3	家禽 (jiā qín)	domestic fowl	53	0.0055
4	家鸽 (jiā gē)	domestic pigeon	42	0.0044
5	家蚕 (jiā cán)	domestic silkworm	18	0.0019
6	家猫 (jiā māo)	domestic cat	14	0.0015
7	家燕 (jiā yàn)	barn swallow	5	0.0005
8	家鼠 (jiā shǔ)	house mouse; rat	5	0.0005
9	家鸭 (jiā yā)	domestic duck	4	0.0004
10	家犬 (jiā quǎn)	domestic dog	2	0.0002
11	家鱼 (jiā yú)	domestic fish	1	0.0001
12	家鸡 (jiā jī)	domestic chicken	1	0.0001
13	家雀 (jiā què)	domestic birds	1	0.0001

Moreover, China has a time-honored civilization and has always been known as a land of ceremony. Etiquette was considered very important in feudal China, and a rigid code of etiquette was observed without tolerance of misbehaviors, especially in the imperial palace. Such strict observation of etiquette has also found expression in the Chinese language, and it is a custom to adopt self-depreciatory appellations in Chinese social interactions to show

respect and modesty. Three right-headed Chinese compounds with 家(jiā) in the corpus are self-depreciatory appellations to mention a person's own elder family relatives as shown in table 8:

Table 8: The “家(jiā) + noun” compounds in which 家(jiā) is a part of self-depreciatory expression used to refer to one's own elder relatives in front of other people

No.	“家(jiā) + noun” compounds in which 家(jiā) is a part of a self-depreciatory expression used to refer to one's own elder relatives in front of other people	Number of appearance	Frequency %
1	家兄 (jiā xiōng) (my) elder brother	5	0.0005
2	家公 (jiā gōng) (my) father	2	0.0002
3	家父 (jiā fù) (my) father	2	0.0002

The FAMILY FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY metonymy may help to establish such usage of 家(jiā), and the sense of respect and politeness can be expressed by adding 家(jiā) to some kinship words used in comparatively more formal occasions. The compound 家公(jiā gōng) was also a way to address one's husband in earlier times, and it may refer to one's grandfather or the father of one's husband in some Chinese dialects nowadays. Even though these self-depreciatory compounds can reflect the Chinese values of family ethics (Feng 2011), their low frequency in the corpus might reveal the weakening influence of the traditional etiquette in modern China.

All in all, more “家(jiā) + noun” compounds have been found in the corpus than “noun + 家(jiā)” compounds, and the character 家(jiā) has the prototypical “family, home or household” meaning in nearly two thirds of all noun-noun compounds with 家(jiā). Table 9 summarizes the meaning distribution of 家(jiā) in the “noun + 家(jiā)” and “家(jiā) + noun” compounds:

Table 9: The meaning distribution of 家(jiā) in the Chinese “noun + 家(jiā)” compounds (52 in total) and “家(jiā) + noun” compounds (71 in total)

No.	Usages and meanings of 家(jiā) in “noun + 家(jiā)” compounds	Number of the compounds found	Percentage %
1	family; home (where family dwell); household	18	34.62
2	families that deal with a certain trade or profession; people with special identities	12	23.08
3	a part of phrases specially designated to address the speaker himself/herself or other people	7	13.46
4	schools of academic thought	6	11.54
5	people who are specialists or experts in a certain field with specialized knowledge or abundant practical experience; people engaged in specialized activities	6	11.54
6	one opposite side among all parties (involved in an event or comparison)	3	5.77

No.	Usages and meanings of 家(jiā) in “家(jiā) + noun” compounds	Number of the compounds found	Percentage %
1	family; home (where family dwell); household	55	77.46
2	domesticated (opposite to wild)	13	18.31
3	a self-depreciatory expression used to refer to one’s own elder relatives in front of other people	3	4.23

Only around 15% of the noun-noun compounds have 家(jiā) as the head with its prototypical meaning of family, home or household, and nearly all of such compounds are “noun + 家(jiā)” compounds. About 46% of the noun-noun compounds have 家(jiā) as the modifier with the prototypical meaning, and they are all “家(jiā) + noun” compounds. It seems that the prototypical meaning of 家(jiā) is more frequently expressed by 家(jiā) as the modifier in “家(jiā) + noun” compounds, and the modifier 家(jiā) has more different senses in “noun + 家(jiā)” compounds than in “家(jiā) + noun” compounds. Metaphor and metonymy help to construct the non-prototypical meanings of 家(jiā) and the meanings of noun-noun compounds with 家(jiā), and some of these compounds can reveal the features of the Chinese culture and tradition.

### 3.2 The “Verb + 家(jiā)” and “家(jiā) + Verb” compounds

The “verb + 家(jiā)” compounds are the second largest group in the whole body of “X + 家(jiā)” compounds in the Modern Chinese Corpus. Among all 34 left-headed “verb + 家(jiā)” compounds presented in table 10, 27 compounds have 家(jiā) with the meaning of family, home or household, four compounds have 家(jiā) referring to people or families who deal with a profession or addressing people with a special identity, and 家(jiā) means one opposing side among all participating parties in three compounds.

Table 10: The “verb + 家(jiā)” compounds and the meanings of 家(jiā) in the compounds

No.	“verb + 家(jiā)” compounds in which 家(jiā) means family, home or household	Number of appearance	Frequency %
1	回家 (huí jiā) return home	971	0.1016
2	在家 (zài jiā) at home	249	0.0261
3	搬家 (bān jiā) move home; move house	121	0.0127
4	当家 (dāng jiā) manage a family; be in power	167	0.0085
5	离家 (lí jiā) leave home	76	0.0080
6	出家 (chū jiā) go out of the family to become a monk or nun or Taoist priest	63	0.0065
7	分家 (fēn jiā) break up the family; live apart	60	0.0063
8	起家 (qǐ jiā) establish family fortune or name	49	0.0052
9	安家 (ān jiā) set up a home; settle down	48	0.0050
10	到家 (dào jiā) arrive home; extremely	47	0.0049
11	成家 (chéng jiā) establish a family; settle down	32	0.0033

12	发家 (fā jiā)	build up a family fortune	31	0.0032
13	想家 (xiǎng jiā)	miss home; homesick	25	0.0026
14	看家 (kān jiā)	watch over the family	23	0.0024
15	住家 (zhù jiā)	reside in; family residence	22	0.0023
16	败家 (bài jiā)	squander family's fortune	21	0.0022
17	归家 (guī jiā)	return home	15	0.0016
18	养家 (yǎng jiā)	support a family	15	0.0015
19	抄家 (chāo jiā)	search the house and confiscate the property	14	0.0015
20	探家 (tàn jiā)	visit one's family	11	0.0012
21	居家 (jū jiā)	live with one's own family	10	0.0010
22	治家 (zhì jiā)	regulate or manage a family	7	0.0007
23	返家 (fǎn jiā)	go back home	6	0.0006
24	顾家 (gù jiā)	care for one's family	5	0.0005
25	兴家 (xīng jiā)	flourish one's family	4	0.0004
26	持家 (chí jiā)	manage family affairs	4	0.0004
27	恋家 (liàn jiā)	long for home	2	0.0002
No.	“verb + 家(jiā)” compounds in which 家(jiā) means people or families who deal with a profession or addressing people with a special identity		Number of appearance	Frequency %
1	作家 (zuò jiā)	writer	1178	0.1232
2	管家 (guǎn jiā)	housekeeper; steward; butler	61	0.0064
3	干家 (gàn jiā)	an able person	1	0.0001
4	玩家 (wán jiā)	player (of a game)	1	0.0001
No.	“verb + 家(jiā)” compounds in which 家(jiā) means one opposing side among all participating parties		Number of appearance	Frequency %
1	赢家 (yíng jiā)	winner	5	0.0005
2	输家 (shū jiā)	loser	2	0.0002
3	胜家 (shèng jiā)	winner	1	0.0001

Conceptual metaphors such as FAMILY IS AN OBJECT, FAMILY IS A CONTAINER and FAMILY IS A PLANT are crucial in the meaning construction and comprehension of these “verb + 家(jiā)” compounds. For example, the character 分(fēn) means “to divide or break” in Chinese, so the FAMILY IS A WHOLE OBJECT WITH PARTS metaphor is activated in the meaning of the compound 分家(fēn jiā). Family is an object that is watched over and guarded as in 看家(kān jiā), and it is also an object that can be held in hands as in 持家(chí jiā) whose meaning might also involve the metaphor MANAGING AN OBJECT IS HOLDING THE OBJECT. Family is a target object for emotional feelings such as love or longing as in 恋家(liàn jiā) and 想家(xiǎng jiā). Family is conceptualized as a container in 出家(chū jiā) where 出(chū) literally means “going out”, and the meaning of the compound 出家(chū jiā) is obtained through the SALIENT PART OF THE PROCEDURE FOR THE PROCEDURE metonymy, since leaving one's family is considered as the significant part of the whole procedure of becoming a monk or nun or Taoist priest. The understanding of 成家(chéng jiā) may rely on the FAMILY IS A BUILDING

metaphor, and the FAMILY FAME AND FORTUNE ARE BUILDINGS metaphor may underlie the meanings of 发家(fā jiā) and 起家(qǐ jiā). The character 兴(xīng) means “to flourish or prosper”, so it might trigger the FAMILY IS A PLANT metaphor in building up the meaning of 兴家(xīng jiā). Moreover, it is very likely that the PEOPLE WITH SIMILAR INTERESTS ARE FAMILY metaphor is active in understanding 赢家(yíng jiā), 胜家(shèng jiā) and 输家(shū jiā), and the PROFESSION FOR PEOPLE WHO HOLD THE PROFESSION metonymy helps the comprehension of 作家(zuò jiā) and 管家(guǎn jiā) which can be used to refer to both the professions and the people holding the professions.

Unlike “verb + 家(jiā)” compounds, “家(jiā) + verb” compounds are fewer in number, and 家(jiā) has the prototypical meaning of family, home or household in all “家(jiā) + verb” compounds which are right-headed and largely used as nominal compounds in Chinese. Table 11 below provides a list of “家(jiā) + verb” compounds with their meanings and frequency information in the corpus:

Table 11: The “家(jiā) + verb” compounds and the meanings of 家(jiā) in the compounds

No.	“家(jiā) + verb” compounds in which 家(jiā) means family, home or household	Number of appearance	Frequency %
1	家用 (jiā yòng) household expenses; domestic	56	0.0058
2	家产 (jiā chǎn) family fortune	42	0.0044
3	家访 (jiā fǎng) home visit to the parents of school children	34	0.0036
4	家教 (jiā jiào) family education; private tutor	24	0.0025
5	家当 (jiā dàng) family assets	18	0.0019
6	家养 (jiā yǎng) domesticated; domestic breed	13	0.0014
7	家传 (jiā chuán) heritage handed down in a family	11	0.0012
8	家居 (jiā jū) home furnishing; stay idle at home	8	0.0008
9	家计 (jiā jì) family livelihood	2	0.0002
10	家学 (jiā xué) knowledge handed down in a family	1	0.0001
11	家累 (jiā lěi) family burden; family cares	1	0.0001
12	家祭 (jiā jì) family memorial ceremony for the ancestors	1	0.0001

The FAMILY IS A PERSON metaphor and the metonymies of PROFESSION FOR THE PEOPLE WHO HOLD THE PROFESSION and FAMILY FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY play an important role in the formation and the meaning construction of these compounds. The component verbs in “家(jiā) + verb” compounds are human actions which might indicate that the concept of FAMILY is metaphorically conceptualized as a person in creating the meanings for these compounds. The compound 家教(jiā jiào) is another linguistic instantiation of the PROFESSION FOR THE PEOPLE WHO HOLD THE PROFESSION metonymy, since it can refer to both the profession of private teaching and the private teacher hired by a family. It is also discovered that in all “verb + 家(jiā)” and “家(jiā) + verb” compounds, the verbs serve as the heads while the character 家(jiā) functions as the modifier of these compounds, and around 85% of the modifier 家(jiā) shows the prototypical meaning of family, home or household in “verb + 家(jiā)” and “家(jiā) + verb” compounds retrieved from the corpus.



### 3.3 The “Adjective + 家(jiā)” and “家(jiā) + Adjective” compounds

The disyllabic “adjective + 家(jiā)” and “家(jiā) + adjective” compounds are also nominal compounds in Chinese, but they are much fewer in number compared with those compounds consisting of the character 家(jiā) and a noun or a verb because it is not possible to form compounds by using 家(jiā) with any monosyllabic adjectives randomly in Chinese. Table 12 presents the only 13 “adjective + 家(jiā)” compounds discovered in the Modern Chinese Corpus, nine of which are right-headed compounds with the head 家(jiā) showing its prototypical meaning of family, home or household. The remaining four compounds are left-headed compounds in which 家(jiā) functions as the modifier with three different senses. Among all compounds in table 12, 大家(dà jiā) is the most frequent compound due to its various usages, since it can refer to a big, influential family or a great master in any scientific, academic or art field depending on the communication context, and 大家(dà jiā) means “everybody or all” when it is used as a pronoun in a Chinese sentence.

Table 12: The “adjective + 家(jiā)” compounds and the meanings of 家(jiā) in the compounds

No.	“adjective + 家(jiā)” compounds in which 家(jiā) means family, home and household	Number of appearance	Frequency %
1	大家 (dà jiā) big/influential family; great master; everybody; all	3684	0.3855
2	全家 (quán jiā) the entire family	198	0.0207
3	老家 (lǎo jiā) old home; native place	103	0.0108
4	小家 (xiǎo jiā) small family; humble family	14	0.0014
5	富家 (fù jiā) rich family	11	0.0012
6	合家 (hé jiā) the whole family	10	0.0010
7	举家 (jǔ jiā) the whole family	6	0.0006
8	旧家 (jiù jiā) old home	1	0.0001
9	新家 (xīn jiā) new home	1	0.0001
No.	“adjective + 家(jiā)” compounds in which 家(jiā) refers to one opposite side among all parties (evolved in an event or comparison)	Number of appearance	Frequency %
1	公家 (gōng jiā) the vassal state; the public	64	0.0067
2	私家 (sī jiā) the private	13	0.0014
No.	“adjective + 家(jiā)” compounds in which 家(jiā) means people who are specialists or experts in a certain field with specialized knowledge or abundant practical experience	Number of appearance	Frequency %
1	名家 (míng jiā) famous expert; a person of academic or artistic distinction	38	0.0040
No.	“adjective + 家(jiā)” compounds in which 家(jiā) is a school of academic thought	Number of appearance	Frequency %

1	杂家 (zá jiā)	the Eclectics <sup>9</sup>	11	0.0012
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Metaphor and metonymy again participate in the creation and comprehension of these “adjective + 家(jiā)” compounds. The FAMILY IS AN OBJECT metaphor makes it possible to talk about the size and the wholeness of a family. Moreover, the activation of the BEING INFLUENTIAL AND POWERFUL IS BEING BIG and BEING HUMBLE AND POWERLESS IS BEING SMALL metaphors may explain why the size of the family can indicate the power and social status of a family as demonstrated by the meanings of 大家(dà jiā) and 小家(xiǎo jiā). It seems that the “native place” meaning of the compound 老家(lǎo jiā) is based on the metonymy FAMILY FOR THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, and the PEOPLE WITH SIMILAR INTERESTS ARE FAMILY metaphor constructs the meaning of 家(jiā) as “opposing parties involved in an event” in 公家(gōng jiā) and 私家(sī jiā), while the PEOPLE WITH SAME ACADEMIC THOUGHTS ARE FAMILY metaphor is active in creating the “school of academic thought” meaning of 家(jiā) in 杂家(zá jiā).

Table 13: The “家(jiā) + adjective” compounds and the meanings of 家(jiā) in the compounds

No.	“家(jiā) + adjective” compounds in which 家(jiā) means family, home or household	Number of appearance	Frequency %
1	家常 (jiā cháng) family’s daily life	43	0.0044
2	家私 (jiā sī) family property; furniture	6	0.0006
3	家小 (jiā xiǎo) family members; wife and children; wife	3	0.0003
No.	“家(jiā) + adjective” compounds in which 家(jiā) is a part of a self-depreciatory expression used to refer to one’s own elder relatives in front of other people	Number of appearance	Frequency %
1	家严 (jiā yán) (my) father	1	0.0001

In those right-headed “家(jiā) + adjective” compounds of table 13, the compound 家小(jiā xiǎo) is often used to mention one’s wife and children rather than other family members. The character 小(xiǎo) means “small” or “young” in Chinese, and the CHARACTERISTICS OF PEOPLE FOR THE PEOPLE metonymy may help to construct the meaning of the compound because wife and children are usually smaller in figure or younger in age than the husband. 家严(jiā yán) is the only “家(jiā) + adjective” compound in which 家(jiā) as the modifier does not exhibit its prototypical meaning, and the compound is a self-depreciatory expression used in the past to refer to one’s father. The character 严(yán) means “strict, rigorous or severe”, so the CHARACTERISTICS OF PEOPLE FOR THE PEOPLE metonymy is active in the meaning construction of 家严(jiā yán) as well. Moreover, the compound 家严(jiā yán) may reflect the characteristics of a traditional Chinese family, since it reveals the image of a strict father as the family leader with absolute authority in family life, which was a salient feature of fatherhood in feudal China due to the demands of filial piety in the traditional Chinese family ethics (Eastman 1988; Zang 2008; Starr 2010). But 家严(jiā yán) is no longer used so frequently in modern China as indicated by the compound’s low corpus frequency.

<sup>9</sup> The Eclectics is a Chinese school of thought flourishing at the end of the Warring States Period (475 B.C.-221 B.C.) and the beginning of the Han Dynasty (202 B.C.-220 A.D.). Based on Taoism, the Eclectics learned widely from other schools of thought at that time.

### 3.4 The “Pronoun + 家(jiā)” compounds

In Chinese, it is common to see a personal pronoun followed by the character 家(jiā) to express the meaning of one’s family or home, but only three disyllabic “pronoun + 家(jiā)” compounds are identified from the corpus, and two of them can both refer to one’s family or home and serve as appellation terms to call oneself, as shown in table 14:

Table 14: The “pronoun + 家(jiā)” compounds in the Modern Chinese Corpus

No.	“pronoun + 家(jiā)” compounds	Number of appearance	Frequency %
1	自家 (zì jiā) one’s own family	119	0.0125
2	咱家 (zán/zá jiā) my or our family or home; I	24	0.0025
3	俺家 (ǎn jiā) my family or home; I	22	0.0023

These three “pronoun + 家(jiā)” can be roughly classified as right-headed compounds with the head 家(jiā) holding its prototypical meaning, if the second and the third compounds in table 14 are not considered as appellations. The compound 咱家 has two pronunciations, so it means “my family or home” when the compound is pronounced as *zán jiā*, and it is an appellation used in the old days when the compound is pronounced as *zá jiā*. The compound 俺家(ǎn jiā) is also used as an appellation in a Chinese dialect (Feng 2011). The FAMILY IS A POSSESSED OBJECT metaphor may underlie the possessive meaning conveyed by these “pronoun + 家(jiā)” compounds but no “家(jiā) + pronoun” compounds are found in the corpus because pronouns are not allowed to follow nouns to form polysyllabic words in Chinese grammar.

### 4. 家(jiā) as a bound morpheme and 家(jiā) in Chinese idioms and collocations

The character 家(jiā) in Chinese is both a free morpheme to form compounds and a bound morpheme to act as a classifier (CL) to modify companies, schools, shops, banks, restaurants, factories or even families, as in the following linguistic examples of the corpus:

- (x). 居民总有八九百家，……。(《临平登山记》；郁达夫; 1934-4-20)  
Resident always have eight nine hundred (CL)……  
There are always eight to nine hundred families of residents. ……  
(*Mountain Climbing in Limping*; Da fu Yu; 1934-4-20)
- (xi). 吴淞新开商店六十一家。(《解放日报》；1983-11-24)  
Wusong new open shop sixty one (CL)  
Wusong opened sixty one new shops. (*Liberation Daily*; 1983-11-24)
- (xii). 这是我国首家中、外合资经营的雪糕厂……。(《羊城晚报》；1986-5-25)  
This be I country head (CL) China, foreign joint venture manage snow cake factory……  
This was the first Sino-foreign joint-venture ice cream factory in our country…… (Yangcheng Evening News; 1986-5-25)

- (xiii). 今年 6 月, 天津近百家企业举办产品展示, ..... (《经济日报》; 1991-8-6)

This year June, Tianjin almost hundred (CL) companies hold product exhibition.....

Almost a hundred companies in Tianjin held product exhibitions in June this year. .... (*Economic Daily*; 1991-8-6)

According to Chinese grammar, a numeral usually modifies a noun together with a classifier preceding the noun, and both numerals and classifiers are considered as bound morphemes (Norman 1988; Packard 2000). Moreover, classifiers do not have any meanings, so 家(jiā) has no meaning when it is used as a classifier in the Chinese sentences above. The understanding of 家(jiā) as a classifier may rest upon the Chinese tradition that social activities such as business, education and work were usually structured and organized around kinship network (Eastman 1988; Hinsch 2011), and the classifier usage of 家(jiā) may also develop from its prototypical meaning of family, home or household, since most of the classifiers in Chinese are originally used as nouns with concrete meanings (Xing 2012). Disyllabic words in the pattern of “numeral + 家(jiā)” with 家(jiā) as a classifier are not regarded as compounds in Chinese, but the meaning of 首家(shǒu jiā) in example (l) involves the BEING FIRST IS BEING THE HEAD metaphor, since the character 首(shǒu) originally means “head” in Chinese. In addition to the usage of being a classifier, 家(jiā) serves as a suffix in the multisyllabic “noun + 家(jiā)” words in table 15 below. It is worth noticing that a sense of respect and politeness is also conveyed if the suffix 家(jiā) is added after the noun to address old people as in the most frequent word 老人家(lǎo rén jiā), but no such sense of respect is expressed when the suffix 家(jiā) is used after the nouns to refer to small children, girls or women.

Table 15: “noun + 家(jiā)” words in which 家(jiā) is a suffix to indicate certain people belonging to one category

No.	“noun + 家(jiā)” words in which 家(jiā) is a suffix to indicate certain people belonging to one category	Number of appearance	Frequency %
1	老人家 (lǎo rén jiā) old people	243	0.0255
2	姑娘家 (gū niang jiā) girl	14	0.0015
3	女人家 (nǚ rén jiā) woman	11	0.0012
4	小孩子家 (xiǎo hái zi jiā) small children	6	0.0006
5	妇道人家 (fù dào rén jiā) married woman	4	0.0004
6	女孩子家 (nǚ hái zi jiā) young girl	3	0.0003
7	孩子家 (hái zi jiā) children	1	0.0001
8	女孩儿家 (nǚ hái r jiā) young girl	1	0.0001

Furthermore, there are also four-character Chinese idioms and collocations with 家(jiā) as a constituent morpheme in the corpus, most of which have 家(jiā) showing its prototypical meaning of family, home or household, and metaphor and metonymy always take part in the meaning construction of these idioms and collocations. For example, 大户人家(dà hù rén jiā) means “rich and influential family” but 户(hù) originally refers to a one-paneled door, and 大户(dà hù) literally means “big one-paneled door”, so the meaning of 大户人家(dà hù rén

jiā) is based on the metonymies PART FOR THE WHOLE and RESULT FOR REASON. The big one-paneled door stands for the whole big family house, and the result of living in a big family house stands for the reason of being rich and influential. On the contrary, 小户人家 (xiǎo hù rén jiā) is a humble family with little wealth and power. 学者之家 (xué zhě zhī jiā) is an organization for scholars to hold activities, and 会员之家 (huì yuán zhī jiā) is an organization for members to join, while 少年之家 (shào nián zhī jiā) is a social place for teenage youths to learn arts or special skills. The metaphor PEOPLE WITH SIMILAR GOALS OR INTERESTS ARE FAMILY may underlie the formation of these four-character words with 家(jiā), since scholars, members of an organization and teenagers with a wish to learn are groups of people with similar goals or interests.

In order to understand four-character idioms such as 家破人亡(jiā pò rén wáng), 无家可归(wú jiā kě guī) and 国破家亡(guó pò jiā wáng)<sup>10</sup>, the metaphor FAMILY IS AN OBJECT is activated because FAMILY is conceptualized as an object that can be broken or lost in the idioms. The metaphors of CLOSE RELATION IS FAMILY RELATION and A PRETTY GIRL IS JADE help to create 亲如一家(qīn rú yì jiā) and 小家碧玉 (xiǎo jiā bì yù), since the character 亲(qīn) means “being close in relation”, and 碧玉(bì yù) is “jade” in literal sense. The idiom 丧家之犬(sàng jiā zhī quǎn) means a dog without a (family) owner, but it is also applied to people who have lost their patron and have nobody to rely on with the activation of the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and PEOPLE WITHOUT PATRON ARE DOGS WITHOUT OWNER metaphors. Even though Chinese idioms and collocations with 家(jiā) are not the research focus of the present study, it is still worthwhile to discuss in brief about the important participation of metaphor and metonymy in constructing the meanings of these idioms and collocations with 家(jiā) in order to demonstrate the prevalence of figurative conceptualizations in word formation with 家(jiā) in modern Mandarin Chinese.

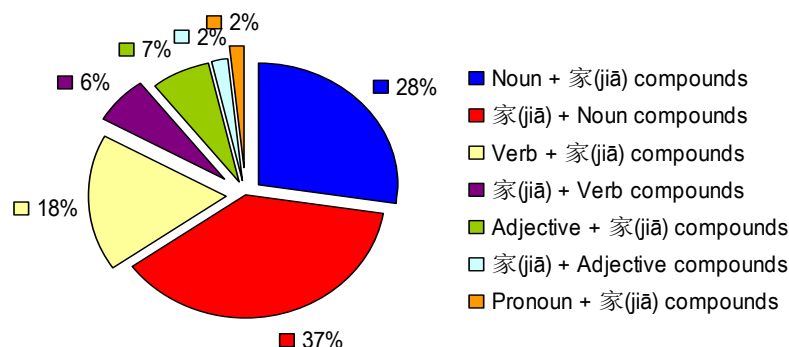
## 5. Conclusion

The Modern Chinese Corpus is a useful resource of real-life linguistic data for the present research about the disyllabic Chinese compounds with 家(jiā). The corpus results show that 家(jiā) is highly preferred to be part of a name in Chinese, since almost half of the words and phrases containing 家(jiā) in the corpus are names for people, places or objects. Meanwhile, it is clear that 家(jiā) is a polysemous morpheme with indeterminate bound-free identity because it is used both as a free morpheme to create compounds and a bound morpheme to serve as a suffix or a classifier in modern Mandarin Chinese. It seems that there is no restricted position for 家(jiā) to form compounds or phrases in Chinese because 家(jiā) can be found in any position in those words and phrases retrieved from the corpus. With respect to the disyllabic compounds with 家(jiā), 102 “X + 家(jiā)” compounds and 87 “家(jiā) + Y” compounds have been identified and grouped into 52 “noun + 家(jiā)” compounds, 71 “家(jiā) + noun” compounds, 34 “verb + 家(jiā)” compounds, 12 “家(jiā) + verb” compounds, 13 “adjective + 家(jiā)” compounds, four “家(jiā) + adjective” compounds and three “pronoun + 家(jiā)” compounds according to the position of 家(jiā) and the lexical category of the word preceding or following 家(jiā). Most of these disyllabic compounds are usually used as nominal or verbal compounds and broadly applied to family related issues.

<sup>10</sup> 家破人亡(jiā pò rén wáng) means family is broken and family members are dead. 无家可归(wú jiā kě guī) means family is lost and have no home to return to. 国破家亡(guó pò jiā wáng) means the country is defeated and family is destroyed.

Given the multiple usages of 家(jiā) and some compounds with 家(jiā), it is crucial to locate the appropriate meaning of 家(jiā) or a compound with 家(jiā) under the guidance of context, especially the immediate communication context where 家(jiā) or a particular compound with 家(jiā) is employed.

Table 16: The constitution of the compounds with 家(jiā) in the Modern Chinese Corpus



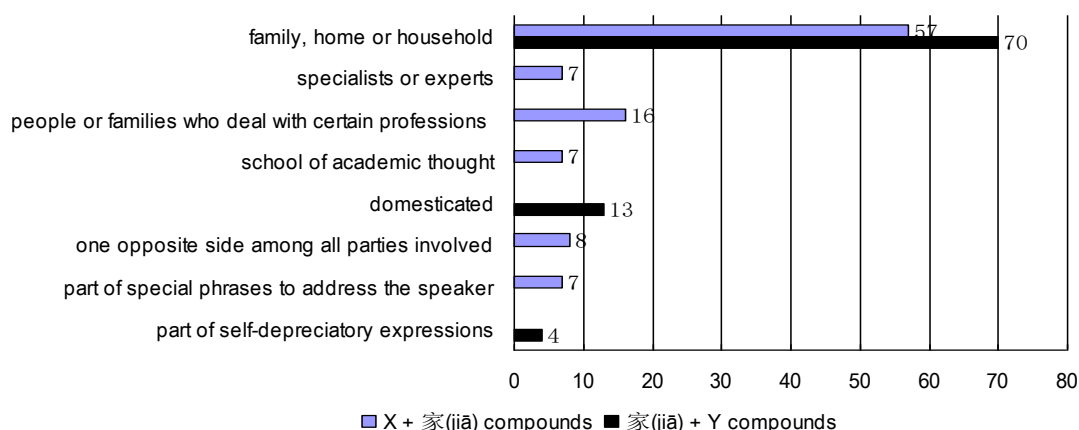
Among those 189 compounds with 家(jiā) found in the corpus, about two thirds of them are noun-noun compounds with 家(jiā), and almost one fourth of the compounds are constituted by a verb and 家(jiā). As shown in table 16, nouns are the most preferred words to form compounds with 家(jiā), but adjectives and pronouns are not so frequently used in the formation of the Chinese compounds with 家(jiā). Moreover, table 17 indicates that 60% of the nominal compounds with 家(jiā) are right-headed but the verb-noun compounds with 家(jiā) used as verbal compounds are all left-headed, which may prove that the disyllabic compounds with 家(jiā) indeed comply with the headedness rules that most nominal compounds are right-headed and verbal compounds are largely left-headed in modern Mandarin Chinese (Packard 2000; Sun 2006; Liao 2014). Besides, around 28% of “X + 家(jiā)” compounds and 99% of “家(jiā) + Y” compounds are right-headed, but 72% of “X + 家(jiā)” compounds are left-headed, showing that the character 家(jiā) is the modifier in almost 85% the compounds with 家(jiā), and it only functions as the head in 28 “X + 家(jiā)” compounds. In disyllabic compounds constituted by a verb and 家(jiā), 家(jiā) is always the modifier no matter where it is located. Only one double-headed compound with 家(jiā) appears in the corpus, and 家(jiā) is the modifier in nearly all “家(jiā) + Y” compounds. Therefore, 家(jiā) is usually the modifier of a Chinese compound with 家(jiā), especially when it occupies the left position in a disyllabic compound.

Table 17: The headedness of the compounds with 家(jiā) in the Modern Chinese Corpus

	right-headed	left-headed	double-headed
“noun + 家(jiā)” compounds	16	35	1
“家(jiā) + noun” compounds	70	1	0
“verb + 家(jiā)” compounds	0	34	0
“家(jiā) + verb” compounds	12	0	0
“adjective + 家(jiā)” compounds	9	4	0
“家(jiā) + adjective” compounds	4	0	0
“pronoun + 家(jiā)” compounds	3	0	0
<b>Total number</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>1</b>

On the other hand, table 18 below demonstrates that the character 家(jiā) holds the prototypical meaning of family, home or household in two thirds of all the disyllabic compounds identified from the corpus, so the prototype effect of the core meaning of 家(jiā) is visible in the formation and comprehension of the compounds with 家(jiā). The remaining seven meanings of 家(jiā) are expressed only in one third of the compounds with 家(jiā), showing that these meanings of 家(jiā) are non-prototypical in the compounds because of their low distribution. As the only shared meaning of 家(jiā) in both “X + 家(jiā)” and “家(jiā) + Y” compounds, the prototypical meaning of 家(jiā) is more frequently expressed when 家(jiā) serves as the modifier of the compounds because about 27% of “X + 家(jiā)” and 79% of “家(jiā) + Y” compounds with 家(jiā) as the modifier have 家(jiā) holding its prototypical meaning, whereas only 28% of “X + 家(jiā)” and 1% of “家(jiā) + Y” compounds with 家(jiā) as the head have 家(jiā) holding its prototypical meaning. It is also discovered that 家(jiā) only displays its prototypical meaning in a disyllabic compound if 家(jiā) functions as the head, regardless of its position in the compound, but 家(jiā) as the modifier may have various meanings in the compounds with 家(jiā), and the prototypical meaning of 家(jiā) is often exhibited in those compounds where 家(jiā) takes the left modifier position. Moreover, 家(jiā) as the modifier has much more different meanings in “X + 家(jiā)” compounds than in “家(jiā) + Y” compounds, especially in “noun + 家(jiā)” compounds. However, the meaning of “domesticated” is restricted to the modifier 家(jiā) in “家(jiā) + Y” compounds, and the disyllabic self-depreciatory expressions with 家(jiā) are only found in the form of “家(jiā) + Y” compounds where 家(jiā) is also the modifier. These two groups of “家(jiā) + Y” compounds are nominal compounds which follow the headedness rule that most nominal Chinese compounds are right-headed (Packard 2000; Sun 2006; Liao 2014).

Table 18: The meaning distribution of 家(jiā) in the disyllabic compounds with 家(jiā)



Based on the previous detailed analyses about the meanings of 家(jiā) and the disyllabic compounds with 家(jiā), it is observed that similar to the English compounds investigated by Benczes (2005), metaphor and metonymy may also act upon the head, the modifier and the compound as a whole or the relation between the two compound constituents to construct the meanings of the disyllabic Chinese compounds with 家(jiā). The semantic category of 家(jiā) in the compounds with 家(jiā) centers on its core, prototypical meaning of family, home or household, and the understand of its prototypical meaning also involves several conceptual metaphors of FAMILY. The FAMILY IS AN OBJECT metaphor is often activated in the creation of

disyllabic compounds with 家(jiā) as the head which can show the features of the family such as being big or small, whole or divided, and this metaphor also helps to construct the meanings of the compounds having 家(jiā) as the modifier with other metaphors such as FAMILY IS A CONTAINER, FAMILY IS A BUILDING, FAMILY IS A PLANT and FAMILY IS A PERSON. The conventional FAMILY IS A CONTAINER metaphor is lexicalized into the compounds of 家里(jiā lǐ), 家中(jiā zhōng) and 家内(jiā nèi), and each compound as a whole can be used metonymically to refer to the family member(s) with the activation of the FAMILY FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY and PLACE FOR THE PEOPLE AT THE PLACE metonymies. The two constituents of the commonly used compound 国家(guó jiā) (country-family) have a close relation due to the shared characteristics between the family and a country/state/nation in Chinese political history, so the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor is another lexicalized conventional metaphor that underlies the formation and the meaning construction of the compound 国家(guó jiā).

It is also possible to conclude that the peripheral, non-prototypical meanings of 家(jiā) in the compound with 家(jiā) are semantic extensions through conceptual tools of metonymy and metaphor. Among those non-prototypical meanings of 家(jiā) presented in table 18, the “specialist or expert” meaning of 家(jiā) may come from the FAMILY FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY metonymy. The “people or families who deal with certain professions” meaning is based on the FAMILY FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY and PROFESSION FOR PEOPLE WHO HOLD THE PROFESSION metonymies, and the “domesticated” meaning might rely on the FAMILY FOR ANIMAL HUSBANDRY metonymy. The “school of academic thought” meaning largely rests upon the PEOPLE WITH SAME ACADEMIC THOUGHTS ARE FAMILY metaphor, and the “one opposite side among all parties involved” meaning is built up by the PEOPLE WITH SIMILAR INTERESTS ARE FAMILY metaphor. Both the PEOPLE WITH SIMILAR INTERESTS OR PROPERTIES ARE FAMILY metaphor and the FAMILY FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY metonymy participate in the word formation procedures of employing 家(jiā) to create those self-depreciatory expressions and special phrases to address the speaker in Chinese.

In addition, a variety of metaphors such as FAMILY FAME AND FORTUNE ARE BUILDINGS, SUPERIOR/CONTROL IS UP, SUBORDINATE/LACK OF CONTROL IS DOWN, POWER IS A CONTAINER, BEING IMPORTANT AND POWERFUL IS BEING INSIDE, BEING UNIMPORTANT AND POWERLESS IS BEING OUTSIDE, MANAGING AN OBJECT IS HOLDING THE OBJECT, BEING INFLUENTIAL AND POWERFUL IS BEING BIG, and BEING HUMBLE AND POWERLESS IS BEING SMALL, and various metonymies of FAMILY FOR FAMILY PROPERTY, FAMILY FOR THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, RESIDENTIAL PLACE OF A FAMILY FOR THE FAMILY, PEOPLE WORKING AT THE INSTITUTION FOR THE INSTITUTION as well as the general PART FOR THE WHOLE metonymy with its specifications of BODY/MOUTH FOR THE PERSON, CHARACTERISTICS OF PEOPLE FOR THE PEOPLE, THE SALIENT PART OF THE PROCEDURE FOR THE PROCEDURE have also taken part in the meaning construction of the disyllabic compounds with 家(jiā). What’s more, the RESULT FOR REASON metonymy and the CLOSE RELATION IS FAMILY RELATION, PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, PEOPLE WITHOUT PATRON ARE DOGS WITHOUT OWNER, A PRETTY GIRL IS JADE and BEING FIRST IS BEING THE HEAD metaphors have been detected from Chinese idioms and phrases with 家(jiā), which can suggest that metaphor and metonymy prevail in the formation and the meaning construction of the disyllabic compounds with 家(jiā) as well as the phrases and idioms with 家(jiā) in Modern Mandarin Chinese.

Culture as an important contextual factor has profound effects on the semantic extensions of 家(jiā) and the formation of the disyllabic compounds with 家(jiā). The



centrality of the family in Chinese social, political and ideological systems gives rise to the high priority bestowed upon the family and the cultural practice of structuring interpersonal relations and social, political activities around the family and kinship (Kulp 1925; Cheng 1944; Eastman 1988; Hinsch 2011), which may underlie the preference of using 家(jiā) as part of names, the development of non-prototypical meanings of 家(jiā) and the usages of 家(jiā) as a suffix and a classifier that can rarely be seen in the meaning of the word *family* and its application in English. The Chinese cultural traditions and the Confucian family ethics are sustained and reflected by the disyllabic compounds with 家(jiā), especially those self-depreciatory expressions and special phrases with 家(jiā) designed to address people. Given the limits of the present research focus, more interesting discoveries will appear if comparative studies of compounds with family as a constituent word are conducted across different languages in the future to investigate the universality and variation in figurative understanding of FAMILY in different cultures.

## Chapter Six: FAMILY as a Target Domain in Mandarin Chinese

The analyses of the disyllabic Chinese compounds with 家(jiā) in the previous chapter has shown that metaphor and metonymy are not only rhetorical devices but important cognitive tools for people to construct and make sense of abstract, intangible and hence difficult-to-understand concepts (Kövecses 2010). The abstract concept of FAMILY is figuratively understood through the concrete source domains of CONTAINER, OBJECT, PERSON, BUILDING and PLANT in those Chinese compounds, idioms and collocations containing 家(jiā) as a constituent morpheme. As the Chinese counterpart of the English word *family*, the character 家(jiā) also serves as the key word for the full text retrieval of the Chinese linguistic materials with 家(jiā) in the Modern Chinese Corpus to achieve the research goal of exploring the figurative conceptualizations of FAMILY in modern Mandarin Chinese.

### 1. Identification of the source domains for FAMILY in the Modern Chinese Corpus

After entering the key research word 家(jiā), a long result list with 42,151 items of Chinese sentences and paragraphs can be generated by the Modern Chinese Corpus, including the sentences or paragraphs with application of those compounds, idioms and collocations with 家(jiā) discussed earlier. According to the “metaphor identification procedure” (MIP) proposed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007), all the corpus results are first read through to obtain their general meanings, and the meaning of the polysemous word 家(jiā) in each corpus result is mainly judged upon the linguistic context where it is used. Then metaphorical conceptualizations of FAMILY are manually identified from the corpus results in which the “family” meaning of 家(jiā) is interpreted through more concrete source domains, and the metonymic understanding of FAMILY is marked if a stand-for relationship is detected in the comprehension of the meaning of 家(jiā) in a given corpus result.

The corpus results with 家(jiā) as a part of names only are discarded, and those corpus results where figurative conceptualizations of FAMILY only occur in the formation and the meaning construction of the compounds, idioms and collocations with 家(jiā) are also excluded from discussions and analyses in this chapter in order to avoid repetition, which in fact occupy the majority part of all the results retrieved from the corpus, leaving more than 700 items only as the eligible corpus results for further investigation. All identified source domains of FAMILY are sorted out and analyzed in detail with corpus examples as linguistic evidence, which have both word-by-word and normal translations in English for offering a clearer demonstration. All corpus results with metaphors of FAMILY are categorized and presented in appendix 2 to 7, with English translation provided for easier understanding. If more than one source domain for FAMILY is contained in a corpus result, then the corpus result is counted as a linguistic example for each identified source domain, so it is possible to see a corpus result appears in two or more appendixes.

### 2. Discussions about the source domains for FAMILY in the Modern Chinese Corpus

Generally speaking, FAMILY is usually considered metaphorically as either an inanimate

physical entity or a living being in the Modern Chinese Corpus. It is discovered that OBJECT is the most frequent source domain with 360 times of appearance in the corpus, which is followed by the source domain of CONTAINER that is present in 213 corpus results. HUMAN BEING as a source domain has 165 corpus examples and the source domain of BUILDING has 29 corpus examples. However, PLANT and LIVING ORGANISM as source domains for FAMILY only appear 21 and 10 times respectively in the corpus. Since “no source domain can structure, and thus provide full understanding for all aspects of a target” (Kövecses 2010a: 103), various source domains are adopted to understand the concept of FAMILY, and the difference in their frequency in the corpus may indicate the Chinese people’s preference over certain source domains to conceptualize FAMILY metaphorically in verbal communication.

## 2.1 Object

With the largest number of linguistic examples in the corpus, OBJECT can be regarded as the most common source domain to conceptualize FAMILY in Chinese. The FAMILY IS AN OBJECT metaphor is a general metaphor that enables people to comprehend the abstract, intangible concept of FAMILY through their knowledge of a real, physical object in the world, even though the family object is not defined explicitly. Thus, FAMILY can receive a variety of human actions from which human attitudes and emotions towards the family are also observed, as shown in the examples collected in appendix 2 and table 19 below:

Table 19: The human actions that can be acted upon a family object and the numbers of their appearances in the Modern Chinese Corpus

<b>Family is an object that can be</b>					
made up; formed	25	generated	3	stabilized	1
left behind	9	managed; operated	3	dominated	1
maintained	9	wanted; needed	3	gotten rid of	1
abandoned	8	relied/depended upon	3	able to exert influence	1
yearned for	6	broken away from	3	reformed	1
taken care of	5	retained	2	analyzed	1
missed; thought of	5	able to exert pressure	2	gained; obtained	1
separated; divided	5	concerned; cared for	2	investigated	1
destroyed	5	loved	2	researched	1
broken	5	forgotten	2	cherished	1
changed	4	pulled	2	in people’s heart	1
guarded; protected	4	fractured	2	extended	1
created	3	under influence	1	governed	1
disintegrated	3	under impact	1	crumbled	1
collapsed	3	under attack	1	given up willingly	1

It is clear that a family object can be the target and the result of various human actions and the general FAMILY IS AN OBJECT metaphor seems to be triggered by the use of those verbs that are related with human actions. The most frequent human action on a family object is to “make up or form” as in example (1) where FAMILY is understood figuratively as a man-made product. The high frequency of the formation of family in the corpus may reveal the central

role of the family in the Chinese culture and society as discovered by sociologists (see Eastman 1988; Fei 1992; Yan 2009; Zang 2008), which encourages the formation of family in the family-oriented society to fulfill social roles and responsibilities in order to meet the demands of the traditional Chinese family values. Once a family is formed, it is usually maintained and cared by family members but people also leave their families for job or personal pursuits, so the human actions in examples (2) to (5) appear very frequently in the corpus as well.

- (1). 有史以来，人们过日子总是要组成一个家庭，因为有其必要和乐趣。  
(《野女泪》；武宝生; 1992-7-1)  
Have history since, people live always need make up one family, because have it necessary and pleasure.  
Since the beginning of history, people always need to make up a family to live, because it is necessary and interesting. (*The Tears of the Wild Girl*; Bao sheng Wu; 1992-7-1)
- (2). 这个家也没有什么难照应。(《四十自述》；胡适; 1933-10-1)  
This family also not what difficult take care of.  
There is nothing difficult to take care of this family. (*Narration at Forty*; Shi Hu; 1933-10-1)
- (3). 朋友是有的，也是同父亲一样平常的人，所以父亲再来维持家庭已经没有那种能力。(《归来之前》；舒群; 1936-9-20)  
Friend be have, also be with father the same common people, so father again come maintain family already not have that kind ability.  
Father had friends, but they were common people like father, so he did not have such capability to maintain the family. (*Before Coming Back*; Qun Shu; 1936-9-20)
- (4). “所以我们必须有个职业，离开家庭到外面去做事呀！”(《我们在忙什么》；冯和仪; 1939-6-1)  
“Therefore we must have profession, leave family arrive outside go do things!”  
“Therefore, we must have a profession and leave the family to work outside!” (*What Are We Busy With*; He yi Feng; 1939-6-1)
- (5). 然而她肯像他那样离开富贵的家庭而生活在贫苦中吗？(《灭亡》；巴金; 1948-6-23)  
However she willingly like him in that way leave rich family but live at poverty in?  
However, could she leave the rich family willingly and live in poverty like him? (*Extinction*; Jin Ba; 1948-6-23)

Moreover, FAMILY is often seen as an object to be yearned, changed, abandoned, broken or even destroyed because of various reasons, as in the following corpus examples:

- (6). 此时，大学生并没有对家庭的留恋，而是只有自己向往的满足--摆脱家庭独立生活。（《人与社会的探寻》；罗国安，赵金昭；1988-5-1）  
At this moment, college student not have towards family yearning, but only have oneself desire for satisfaction—get rid of family independently live.  
At this moment, college students do not yearn for the family, but only have the satisfaction they desire—get rid of the family and live independently.  
(*The Exploration of Human and the Society*; Guo an Luo, Jin zhao Zhao; 1988-5-1)
- (7). 放下提包到高低不平的泥地，呆呆地凝视着我生疏的，好像已经大大地改变了的家庭。（《父亲》；骆方；1935-3-16）  
Put down bag arrive uneven mud land, blankly stare my unfamiliar, seem already greatly change family.  
(I) put down the bag on the bumpy muddy land, and stared foolishly at the unfamiliar family which seemed to have greatly changed. (*Father*; Fang Luo; 1935-3-16)
- (8). 总之，如果她真爱他，她甚至甘愿抛弃富贵的家庭，来和他共同生活在贫困中，她又能从他得到些什么？（《灭亡》；巴金；1948-6-23）  
All in all, if she really love him, she even willing abandon rich family, come with him together live at poverty in, she also can from him get what?  
All in all, if she really loved him, and even would like to abandon the rich family willingly to live with him in poverty, what could she get from him?  
(*Extinction*; Jin Ba; 1948-6-23)
- (9). 这时的柳青，家破妻亡，……。 （《柳青传略》；蒙万夫；1988-9-1）  
This time Liu Qing, family break wife die.  
Qing Liu at that time had family broken and wife dead ..... (*A Short Biography of Qing Liu*; Wan fu Meng; 1988-9-1)
- (10). 我的丈夫，就是因为走上这条路，把个挺美满的家毁了。（《一个警察的 24 小时》；甯卫华；1993-2-1）  
My husband, exactly because walk on this road, take pretty satisfactory family destroy.  
My husband destroyed the pretty satisfactory family exactly because he went on this road. (*The 24 Hours of a Policeman*; Wei hua Dou; 1993-2-1)

When FAMILY is divided, separated or disintegrated as in examples (11) and (12), the FAMILY IS A WHOLE PHYSICAL OBJECT WITH PARTS metaphor is involved as an elaboration of the general FAMILY AS OBJECT metaphor. Any constituent family members can break away from the family if it is a whole object made of parts, and a family object can collapse or crumble into pieces in the times of crisis as in examples (13) and (14).

- (11). 但这多年来，自从分了家，他父子俩是轻易不答话的。（《父子赶集》；马路；1980-5-15）  
But this many years come, since divide family, he father son be easily not

reply.

But during so many years, the father and the son seldom talked with each other since the family was divided. (*Father and Son Go to the Fair*; Lu Ma; 1980-5-15)

- (12). 那时，资本主义的自由竞争引起了家庭的危机和解体，资产阶级家庭经济学正是适应稳定家庭、巩固资本主义社会制度的需要而产生的。  
(《家庭学的缘起和演进》；汤为本; 1986-7-1)

That time, capitalism free competition lead to family crisis and disintegration, capitalist family economics right be suit stabilize family, strengthen capitalist social system need come into being.

At that time, the free competition of capitalism led to the crisis and disintegration of family, and capitalist family economics came into being to satisfy the need of stabilizing families and the capitalist social systems.  
(*The Origin and Evolution of Family Study*; Wei ben Tang; 1986-7-1)

- (13). 薛沁芯也因同样的原因而没有迈出会导致家庭崩溃的步子。  
(《爱路慢慢》；黄志远; 1989-10-1)

Xue Qinxin also because same reason not step out cause family collapse step.

Due to the same reason, Qinxin Xue did not make a further step which could lead to the collapse of the family. (*The Slow Road to Love*; Zhi yuan Huang; 1989-10-1)

- (14). 当时，军阀混战，民不聊生，一家一家都像这个民族一样在悄悄地、静静地土崩瓦解。(《心录的历程》；刘白羽; 1992-2-20)

At that time, warlords tangled warfare, people not live, one family one family all like this nation the same at quietly, silently crumble.

At that time, warlords were fighting each other, and people were deprived of their means of survival. One family after another crumbled like the nation quietly and silently. (*The History Recorded by Heart*; Bai yu Liu; 1992-2-20)

Except for being treated as a whole physical object with parts, FAMILY is rendered with many features that can also be deemed as elaborations of the FAMILY IS AN OBJECT metaphor, which enable people to describe their families in greater detail. Table 20 offers a list of those features that a family object may possess and their frequency in the Modern Chinese Corpus:

Table 20: The features of a family object and the numbers of their appearances in the corpus

Family is an object that						
has a size	big	20	is heavy	3	is fragile and unstable	1
	small	15	is warm and soft	3	is icy cold	1
has a structure		7	is defective	2	is tattered	1
has a form/shape		7	is good	2	is unchanged	1
has warmth		4	is complete	1	is stable	1
is new		4	is incomplete	1	has a shadow	1

FAMILY as an object shares similar features of a physical object in the world, so people can talk about its size, structure, shape, texture, weight, temperature and its physical condition. The size of the family is the most conspicuous feature, and thus becomes the most frequently mentioned family feature in the corpus, followed by the structure and the form of the family that need to be defined for a better understanding of the family as well as the description of the nature and the type of any individual families. A small family in example (15) usually refers to a nuclear family with parents and kids while a big family in example (16) and (17) is an extended family with four generations or more family members living together. If a family has many children, it is generally considered as a big family, too. The application of the BEING POWERFUL AND IMPORTANT IS BEING AT THE CENTER metaphor in example (17) indicates that the senior family member who has the most prestige holds the center position of the whole big family which is the typical form of family in feudal China, when the younger generations lived together with the elder generations after marriage, and power and authority were distributed among family members so that a decent order was established and abided by all family members' tacit consent (Eastman 1988; Ebrey 2003).

- (15). ..... 不如埋头搞生产，把小家庭和儿女照料好，.....。 (《武陵儿女杨玉翠》；剑清; 1964-3-5)  
 (She)'d rather bury her head in production and take good care of the small family and her children..... (*The Child of Wuling: Yucui Yang*; Qing Jian; 1964-3-5)
- (16). 这一斧，把维持了几十年的二十口人的大家庭砍散了。 (《崛起》；陈忠实; 1982-1-5)  
 This one axe, take maintain dozens of years twenty people big family chop apart.  
 This strike of the axe chopped apart the big family with more than 20 people, which was maintained dozens of years. (*Rise*; Zhong shi Chen; 1982-1-5)
- (17). 这是一个四世同堂的大家庭，年逾古稀的魏老太太是家庭的中心，..... (《反省》；林兆华; 1987-4-1)  
 This be one four generation big family, year over seventy years old Wei Granny be family center.....  
 This is a big family of four generations, and Granny Wei over seventy years old is the family center..... (*Reflection*; Zhao hua Lin; 1987-4-1)

However, the form of the traditional extended family has changed as shown by example (18), and the nuclear family with parents and a single child has become the typical family model in modern China, especially in big cities (Zang 2011). Even though the elder generations of a family are still respected in terms of morality and family duties nowadays, the power relations between family members have changed. In feudal times, the elder generations and the male members in traditional extended families usually enjoyed utmost respect and priority at the expense of the absolute obedience from the younger generations as in example (19). However, the younger generations in modern China are gaining more and

more importance in family life with their happiness protected and guaranteed by parents, and it is not rare to see Chinese parents give such a high priority to their children's needs and requirements that they may unconsciously spoil their children (see Yan 2009, 2016).

- (18). ....., 中国传统的家庭形态也开始发生变迁。 (《青年社会学》; 费穗宇, 穆宪; 1987-7-1)  
..... China traditional family form also start occur change.  
..... The form of Chinese traditional families also started to change.  
(*Sociology for Youth*; Sui yu Fei, Xian Mu; 1987-7-1)
- (19). 传统家庭结构中, 长辈的权威、名誉、堂皇的外表、亲和的秩序, 总是以牺牲下层的起码生活幸福为前提的。 (《权力的祭坛》; 崔文华; 1988-12-1)  
Traditional family structure in, the elder generation authority, honor, glorious appearance, amiable order, always by sacrifice lower layer basic life happiness as precondition.  
In the structure of a traditional family, the authority of the elder generation, honor, glorious appearance and amiable order are always achieved with the precondition of sacrificing the basic happy life of the younger generation. (*The Altar of Power*; Wen hua Cui; 1988-12-1)

According to the Chinese family values, a family is satisfactory if it is stable and harmonious (Li 2008), but it requires efforts from family members to keep a family intact and carry out family roles defined by filial piety, so people can easily feel the heavy weight of their families in times of turbulence. Besides, it is never easy to maintain an ideally perfect family because family members tend to decrease in number with time, and there are always contradictions, frictions or problems in family life that can make a family heavy, fragile, defective, unstable or even tattered as in examples (20) to (23):

- (20). 她为了给家里多挣钱, 好离开这个沉重的家庭, 忍受着一切痛苦, 从不放过一个挣钱的机会。 (《新风霞回忆录》; 新风霞; 1980-10-1)  
She in order to for family inside more earn money, good leave this heavy family, tolerate all pain, never let go one earn money chance.  
In order to earn more money for the family and then leave this heavy family, she tolerated all the pains, and never let go of any chance to make money. (*The Memoirs of Fengxia Xin*; Feng xia Xin; 1980-10-1)
- (21). 对偶家庭本身是脆弱的和不稳定的, ..... (《家庭学概论》; 高健生, 刘宁; 1986-7-1)  
Pairing family in itself be fragile and unstable, .....  
Pairing families are themselves fragile and unstable ..... (*An Introduction to Family Studies*; Jian sheng Gao, Ning Liu; 1986-7-1)
- (22). .....在外边鬼混, 抛家舍业, 啥也不管, 全靠他媳妇维持那个破烂的家。 (《有情人难成眷属》; 林子, 谢树; 1987-12-1)  
..... at outside fiddle, abandon family abandon career, nothing also not



care, all rely on his wife maintain that tattered family.  
 (He) fiddled around outside, abandoned family and job, and cared about nothing. It was his wife who maintained that tattered family. (*All Shall Not Be Well*; Yu Lin, Shu Xie; 1987-12-1)

- (23). 所谓“有缺陷的家庭”，是指父母一方或双方酗酒、父母感情破裂、父母离婚、没有结过婚的男子或妇女带着孩子的不完全型家庭。（《中小学比较教育学》；商继宗; 1992-2-1）  
 so called “defective family”, be refer to parent one side or both side alcoholic, parent incompatibility, parent divorce, unmarried man or woman take child incomplete type family.  
 The so called “defective families” refer to the incomplete families which have alcoholic parent(s), incompatibility between parents, divorce or unmarried men or women with children. (*Comparative Education in Elementary and Secondary Schools*; Ji zong Shang; 1992-2-1)

Moreover, the family and kinship relations are usually based on blood ties, so people are naturally attached emotionally to their families. Emotions like love, happiness and anger often involve physiological effects of the human body and thus produce the EFFECT OF EMOTION FOR THE EMOTION metonymy (Kövecses 2010a) which underlies the motivation of the emotion metaphors of AFFECTION IS WARMTH/SOFTNESS and INDIFFERENCE IS COLDNESS/HARDNESS in examples (24), (25) and (26), where the features of a family object as being warm, soft or icy cold have been described through these metaphors. Only people can show various feelings or emotions towards their family members, so the metonymy FAMILY FOR PEOPLE OF THE FAMILY might be activated as well to convey the intended meaning. A warm and soft family is produced by loving, affectionate family members while a cold family is the result of indifferent, apathetic family members. Therefore, various aspects of the family and family life can be depicted by the employment of metaphors and metonymies above.

- (24). 我们要把身心炼成钻石般，不要去想那温软软的家庭！（《最后胜利》；周毓英; 1930-3-1）  
 We need take body heart refine into like diamond, not need go think that warm soft family.  
 We need to refine our body and heart into diamond, and do not think of the warm, soft family! (*The Final Victory*; Yu ying Zhou; 1930-3-1)
- (25). 在异国他乡，他终于寻到了家庭的温暖！（文汇报; 1979-5-15）  
 At foreign country alien land, he finally find family warmth.  
 In the foreign country, he finally found the warmth of family! (*Wenhui Daily*; 1979-5-15)
- (26). 冰冷的家庭，刻薄的语言常常使得罗暗自落泪，精神上受到严重的创伤。（《我们就是原告》；陈大文; 1983-12-15）  
 Ice cold family, harsh words always make Luo secret drop tear, mind up get serious trauma.  
 The icy cold family and harsh words always made Luo cry in secret and

suffer great trauma mentally. (We Are the Plaintiffs; Da wen Chen; 1983-12-15)

### 2.1.1 Possessed object

It is known from life experience that a person can take possession of any physical objects available that belong to him or her, and those physical objects become private properties once they are possessed by people. FAMILY as an object can also be owned by people, and thus motivates the FAMILY IS A POSSESSED OBJECT metaphor that can be seen as an elaboration of the general FAMILY AS OBJECT metaphor. With 174 linguistic examples in appendix 3, the FAMILY IS A POSSESSED OBJECT metaphor is a common metaphor widely present in the corpus which highlights people's possessive control over their families. It is easy to identify the FAMILY AS POSSESSED OBJECT metaphor in Chinese, since the auxiliary word 的(de) as a nominalizer often follows a pronoun or a noun (noun phrase) to convey a sense of possession (Sun 2006), and it can mark the activation of the FAMILY AS POSSESSED OBJECT metaphor if it is placed between 家(jiā) and a pronoun or a noun(noun phrase) as in examples (27) and (28) below. The verb 有(yǒu) also signifies the meaning of possession while the word 没有(méi yǒu) is the negation of 有(yǒu) in examples (29) and (30).

- (27). 我和晋学贤谈起了她的家庭情况，她的家庭是幸福的。(《丰富的第一年》；柳溪；1954-7-16)

I and Jin Xue xian talk start her family situation, her family be happy.

Xue xian Jin and I started to talk about her family. Her family was happy.

(The Affluent First Year; Xi Liu; 1954-7-16)

- (28). 石匠的家庭，生活之拮据是可想而知的，……。(《石匠的儿子民族的号手》；戴鹏海；1987-3-1)

Stonecutter family, life short of money be one can imagine, ……

It was easy to guess how short of money a stonecutter's family would be…… (Son of A Stonecutter, Trumpeter of the Nation; Peng hai Dai; 1987-3-1)

- (29). …… 要是没有这个家就好了！ (《过渡》；丁易；1947-1-1)

…… If be not have this family good!

…… It would be good if (he) did not have such a family! (Transition; Yi Ding; 1947-1-1)

- (30). 可是，他不是已经有了新的家庭了吗？ (《野女泪》；武宝生；1992-7-1)

But, he not be already have new family?

But, hasn't he had a new family? (The Tears of the Wild Girl; Bao sheng Wu; 1992-7-1)

Table 21 shows that almost half of the linguistic examples have 的(de) as the indicator of the FAMILY IS A POSSESSED OBJECT metaphor, and around two thirds of the remaining half examples contain the verb 有(yǒu) or 没有(méi yǒu) to function as the possession indicator.

The examples with a noun (noun phrase) and the auxiliary word 的(de) make up the smallest portion of the linguistic manifestations of the metaphor. Sometimes, 的(de) can be omitted between a noun (noun phrase) and 家(jiā) but the possessive meaning still remains. Most of the nouns or noun phrases in front of 家(jiā) are titles of professions or social classes, and some of them refer to special groups of people in a society. Human names and kinship terms also appear with 的(de) to express the meaning of possession, even though their frequencies in the corpus are very low. It seems that the FAMILY IS A POSSESSED OBJECT metaphor is conventional and lexicalized into the Chinese language, since the application of the verb 有(yǒu) or 没有(méi yǒu) before the character 家(jiā), or the use of the possession indicator 的(de) between 家(jiā) and a pronoun or a noun (noun phrase) may trigger the FAMILY IS A POSSESSED OBJECT metaphor in Chinese.

Table 21: The indicators of the FAMILY IS A POSSESSED OBJECT metaphor and the numbers of their appearances in the corpus

有(yǒu)/没有(méi yǒu)	有(yǒu)/没有(méi yǒu) 家/家庭	have/have no family	62
Pronoun + 的(de)	我(wǒ)的家/家庭	my family	7
	我们(wǒ men)的家/家庭	our families	14
	你(nǐ)的家/家庭	your family	7
	你们(nǐ men)的家/家庭	your families	1
	她(tā)的家/家庭	her family	12
	他(tā)的家/家庭	his family	16
	他们(tā men)的家/家庭	their families	5
	自己(zì jǐ)的家/家庭	one's own family	21
Noun/ noun phrase + 的(de)	其(qí)一家/家庭	their/his/her/its (whole) family	4
	军人(jūn rén)(的)家庭	soldier's family	4
	父亲(fù qin)的家/家庭	father's family	3
	学生(xué shēng)的家庭	students' families	3
	干部(gàn bù)的家庭	cadre's family	3
	农民(nóng mín)(的)家庭	farmer's family	3
	职工(zhí gōng)(的)家庭	employee's family	2
	贵族(guì zú) (的)家庭	noble family	2
	双方(shuāng fāng)的家庭	the families of both parties	1
	人家(rén jiā)的家庭	other people's family	1
	他人(tā rén)的家庭	other people's family	1
	地主(dì zhǔ)(的)家庭	landlord's family	1
	多数人(duō shù rén)的家庭	most people's families	1
	穷人(qióng rén)的家庭	poor people's family	1
	工人(gōng rén)的家庭	worker's family	1
	许多人(xǔ duō rén)的家庭	many people's families	1
	庄园主(zhuāng yuán zhǔ)的家庭	manor owner's family	1
	消防官兵(xiāo fáng guān bīng)的家庭	fireman's family	1
	石匠(shí jiàng)的家庭	stonecutter's family	1
	知识分子(zhī shi fèn zǐ)的家庭	intellectual's family	1

律师(lǚ shī) (的)家庭	lawyer's family	1
青年(qīng nián)的家庭	young people's families	1
主人(zhǔ rén)的家	master's family	1
王惠兰(Wáng Huílán)的家	Wang Huilan's family	1
玉东(Yù Dōng)的家庭	Yudong's family	1
少年犯(shào nián fàn)的家庭	juvenile delinquents' families	1
劳动人民(láo dòng rén mín) 的家庭	the laboring people's families	1
父母兄弟姐妹(fù mǔ xiōng dì jiě mèi)的家	a family of parents and siblings	1
教育活动家(jiào yù huó dòng jiā)的家庭	education activist's family	1

In addition, the verb 有(yǒu) and the auxiliary word 的(de) can appear in a Chinese sentence together to activate the FAMILY IS A POSSESSED OBJECT metaphor, as in example (31), where the pronoun 自己(zì jǐ) can stress the fact that a family is one's own property. The wholeness of the family as a possessed object is highlighted in example (32) because the word 完整(wán zhěng) means “the whole” or “the entire” in Chinese, and FAMILY is thus seen as a whole object possessed by people in the example. It is also possible to discover that the FAMILY IS A POSSESSED OBJECT metaphor goes together with other metaphors to provide more detailed information about a family in examples (33), (34) and (35) below:

- (31). 我们每个人都有自己的**家庭**。(《火车头的一家》；唐南萍，陆若冰；1981-10-1)

We every person all have self family.

Everybody of us has his or her own family. (*The Family of the Locomotive*; Nan ping Tang, Ruo bing Lu; 1981-10-1)

- (32). 是呀，自从迷上了柔道，还有自己那个完整的**家**吗？(《柔道女裁判》；杨建华，王文涛；1986-1-6)

Yes, since from addict up Judo, still have self that complete family?

Yes, after being addicted to Judo, did she still have her complete family? (*The Woman Judo Referee*; Jian hua Yang, Wen tao Wang; 1986-1-6)

- (33). 现在，猩红热的魔影又威胁着他的**家**。(《梦魇》；叶至善、叶三午、叶小沫；1980-8-5)

Now, scarlet fever evil phantom again threaten his family.

Now, the evil phantom of the scarlet fever is threatening his family again. (*Nightmares*; Zhi shan Ye, San wu Ye, Xiao mo Ye; 1980-8-5)

- (34). 我们这个**家**再经不起大风大浪了！(《永远是春天》；谌容；1986-10-1)

Our this family again bear not big wind big wave!

Our family cannot bear great storms anymore! (*It's Spring For Ever*; Rong Chen; 1986-10-1)

- (35). ....., 也考虑到她的小**家庭**当时风雨飘摇的处境。(《银海弄潮儿—

刘晓庆》；杨晓雄，乃明；1988-4-1)

....., also consider her small family at that time wind rain sway situation.

..... (She) also considered the situation that her small family was swaying in the midst of a raging storm at that time. (*The Tide Player of the Silver Screen—Xiao qing Liu*; Xiao xiong Yang, Ming Nai; 1988-4-1)

The metaphors of A DEADLY DISEASE IS A PHANTOM and DIFFICULTIES/OBSTACLES ARE STORMS/STRONG WIND/HIGH WAVES join together with the FAMILY IS A POSSESSED OBJECT metaphor to express the lethal nature of the scarlet fever in example (33) and the great challenges of life in examples (34) and (35) that may attack one's family with a potential threat of a total destruction. A deadly disease is figuratively regarded as a phantom since phantoms are evil, lethal and hard to defeat in Chinese folklores, and the abstract concepts such as DIFFICULTIES, OBSTACLES, TURBULENCE or PROBLEM are conceptualized through the source domains of STRONG WIND, HIGH WAVES or BIG STORMS due to people's knowledge from their life experience that bad weather conditions always bring disastrous consequences and exact a high price to overcome. Lexicalized into four-character Chinese idioms in examples (34) and (35), the DIFFICULTIES/OBSTACLES ARE STORMS/STRONG WIND/HIGH WAVES metaphor is not novel in Chinese.

### 2.1.2 Specific family objects

In the Modern Chinese Corpus, there are several specifications of the general FAMILY IS AN OBJECT metaphor in which specific objects become the source domains to conceptualize FAMILY as listed in table 22:

Table 22: The specific family objects and the numbers of their appearances in the corpus

Family is (a /an)			
shackle	2	commodity	1
burden	2	illusion	1
private property	1	food	1
power	1	bound	1

Some of these source domains are inanimate objects with a definite shape but others are abstract concepts that might be considered metaphorically as physical objects before they become the source domains for FAMILY. All source domains in table 22 can offer descriptions of FAMILY in greater detail but they are individual specifications of the FAMILY IS AN OBJECT metaphor that do not have many linguistic examples in the corpus. For example:

- (36). 为什么我们有的青年会把结婚看作是爱情的终结和坟墓，把家庭看成是对爱情的一种桎梏，一旦恋爱着的双方组成了家庭，那么爱情的追求也就永远结束了， ..... (解放日报; 1982-6-23)

Why we some young people take marriage as be love finality and tomb, take family see as be to love one kind shackle, once love two parties make up family, then love pursuit also forever end.....

Why some of our young people regard marriage as the finality and tomb of love, and see family as the shackle of love. Once the two people in love make up a family, then their pursuit for love will end forever..... (*The Liberation Daily*; 1982-6-23)

- (37). 同样，封建家庭的家长，也把家庭作为自己的私产，.....。 (《中国宏观社会学》；程继隆; 1990-11-1)

Similarly, feudal family leader also take family as oneself property.....

Similarly, the leaders of feudal families took the families as their own property. .... (*Chinese Macro Sociology*; Ji long Cheng; 1990-11-1)

- (38). 我巡视一下，看不出我所想象的家的味道；..... (《在长白山森林里》；王世阁; 1957-1-1)

I inspect one time, see not out I imagine family taste; .....

I made an inspection tour, and could not see the taste of the family in my imagination..... (*In the Forest of Changbai Mountain*; Shi ge Wang; 1957-1-1)

- (39). “我认为美满的小家庭始终是一个幻想。” (《我们在忙什么》；冯和仪; 1939-6-1)

“I think satisfactory small family all along be one illusion”

“I think a satisfactory small family is an illusion all along.” (*What Are We Busy With*; He yi Feng; 1939-6-1)

- (40). 亲爱的朋友们，我有一个好家庭，我很珍惜它，并把它作为鞭策自己前进的力量。(《不骄傲，继续前进》；王桂芹; 1958-5-1)

Dear friend, I have one good family, I very treasure it, and take it as spur oneself advance power.

Dear friends, I have a good family and I treasure it very much. I take it as the power to spur me on to advance. (*Don't be Proud, Advance Further*; Gui qin Wang; 1958-5-1)

The shackle in example (36) is a physical object in the world that people are able to acquire enough amount of knowledge about it from life experience. The FAMILY IS A SHACKLE metaphor is applied to describe the physical and mental constraints the family may exert on people, since a shackle is a tool to restrict people's freedom, and thus can vividly depict the bondage of family upon all family members. The FAMILY IS A POSSESSED OBJECT metaphor underlies the choice of PRIVATE PROPERTY as the source domain to conceptualize FAMILY in example (37). People claim their possession over their families in the same way as they do to their private properties, so the family is the rightful private property that should not be impeded by outsiders.

When the sense of taste is brought into focus, FAMILY turns to be food with a taste. Hunger for food as one of the basic human desires enjoys the priority to be satisfied so that humans can stay alive, and the importance of the family in Chinese social life and the taste of the family food can impress every family member since childhood which may explain the association of the FAMILY concept with the source domain of FOOD. The motivation of the

FAMILY IS FOOD metaphor in example (38) might be based on synaesthesia, where the stimulation of the visual sense from the inspection of the environment leads to the experience of the gustatory sense. Moreover, metonymies of PART FOR THE WHOLE and TASTE OF FOOD FOR THE FOOD also take part in the motivation of the FAMILY IS FOOD metaphor that can arouse empathy among the readers. Furthermore, the abstract concepts such as ILLUSION and POWER in examples (39) and (40) have figuratively become physical objects that are countable and encouraging, so the general FAMILY IS AN OBJECT metaphor is specified as SATISFACTORY FAMILY IS AN IMAGINED OBJECT and FAMILY IS MOTIVATING POWER metaphors. Given the difficulty to deal with the complex family problems in reality, having a perfectly satisfying family is naturally deemed as an illusion that is hard to be realized. In example (40), FAMILY is not only a good, possessed object but also is specified as the driving force to urge people to progress. It involves the activation of the metaphors of FAMILY IS A POSSESSED OBJECT, FAMILY IS MOTIVATING POWER and DEVELOPMENT/PROGRESS IS MOVING FORWARD to express the positive outcome of having a good family and the reason to treasure it.

## 2.2 Container

As a common image schema, CONTAINER schema is motivated by the bodily experience and underlies many metaphors (Kövecses 2006). The utensils of daily life, shelters and even human body are natural containers that can be directly perceived through human senses, so the knowledge about various aspects of a container such as its integrating parts, its content inside and its outside physical form, size, color and texture can be acquired through life experience. The research discoveries of the Chinese compounds with 家(jiā) have verified that a physical container is a common source domain to conceptualize the concept of FAMILY in Chinese, and the FAMILY IS A CONTAINER metaphor has been lexicalized into the commonly used compounds of 家里(jiā lǐ), 家中(jiā zhōng) and 家内(jiā nèi) which together appear around 2,000 times in the Modern Chinese Corpus. Sharing the meanings of their English equivalents “in”, “inside” and “within”, the locative nouns 中(zhōng), 里(lǐ) and 内(nèi) are nominal markers of the FAMILY IS A CONTAINER metaphor, and the metaphor is also triggered by the verbal markers of 进(jìn), 入(rù), and 出(chū) that refer to the actions of entering into or going out of a container in Chinese. All linguistic markers for the FAMILY IS A CONTAINER metaphor and the numbers of their appearances in the corpus are presented in table 23 with all 213 linguistic examples of the metaphor listed in appendix 4.

Table 23: The linguistic markers of the FAMILY IS A CONTAINER metaphor and the numbers of their appearances in the corpus

<b>Nominal markers</b>	中 (zhōng)	in	101
	里 (lǐ)	in; inside	56
	内 (nèi)	inside; within	17
	外 (wài)	outside	2
<b>Verbal markers</b>	出 (chū)	go or come out	12
	进 (jìn)	enter; go or come into	9
	入 (rù)	go or come into	4
	充满 (chōng mǎn)	be filled with	2

From table 23, it is observed that FAMILY is mainly conceptualized as a container with substances inside it while the outside part of a family container is not highlighted. Nominal markers are more frequently used than verbal markers in linguistic manifestations of the FAMILY IS A CONTAINER metaphor, but verbal markers may emphasize the movement of entering or coming out of a family container or the action of filling a family container to the brim. The corpus examples below demonstrate how the FAMILY IS A CONTAINER metaphor is instantiated linguistically with the markers shown in table 23:

- (41). 因此家庭中的精神和道德都是与儿童有密切的关系。(《训育论》; 李相; 1935-8-1)  
Therefore family in spirit and morality all be with child has close relation.  
Therefore, the spirit and morality in a family have close relations with children. (*Discipline*; Xiang Li; 1935-8-1)
- (42). 所以, 婆媳关系在有婆媳的家庭里, 对家庭人际关系的建设往往具有举足轻重的意义。(《社会学基础》; 叶丽, 李星万; 1987-1-1)  
Therefore, mother-in-law wife relation at have mother-in-law wife family inside, for family interpersonal relation construction often have crucial meaning.  
Therefore, in a family with the wife and the mother-in-law, their relationship is often crucial in constructing the family's interpersonal relations. (*Basic Sociology*; Li Ye, Xing wan Li; 1987-1-1)
- (43). 从家庭内产业的结构来看, 劳动力 70% 以上用于专业生产。(《社会主义商品经济下的合作制与家庭经济》; 杨承训; 1988-2-1)  
From family in industrial structure come see, labor 70% more use for professional production.  
From the industrial structure within a family, 70% of the labor is used for professional production. (*Cooperation and Family Economy under the Socialist Commodity Economy*; Cheng xun Yang; 1988-2-1)
- (44). 随着生产力的提高和社会经济文化事业的发展, 广大妇女走出家庭, 参加劳动, 取得了经济独立。(《法学通论》; 陈春龙, 肖贤富; 1981-6-1)  
With production power improve and society economy culture career develop, broad mass women go out family, join labor, gain economic independence.  
With the increasing productivity and development of social economic and cultural undertakings, the broad mass of women have gone out of the families, and joined the labor to gain their economic independence. (*General Theories of the Law*; Chun long Chen, Xian fu Xiao; 1981-6-1)
- (45). 80% 的村民盖起了楼房, 彩电、摩托车基本普及到家家户户, 连汽车、录相机, 也开始进入农户家庭。(人民日报; 1991-9-4)  
80% villagers build up building house, color TV motorbikes basic popularize arrive each and every family, even car, video recorders also



begin enter farmer family.

80% of the villagers had built up storied houses, and color TV and motorbikes had become popular for every family. Even cars and video recorders also started to enter into the farmers' families. (*China People's Daily*; 1991-9-4)

### 2.2.1 The contents inside a family container

Various types of substances can be the contents inside a family container. Almost 90% of the corpus examples of the FAMILY IS A CONTAINER metaphor concern family contents that can be classified and displayed in table 24. In general, there are two major categories of the family contents: Human and non-human substances. The first part of table 24 below focuses on human contents that include various kinds of people who can be the contents of a family container:

Table 24: The contents in a family container and the numbers of their appearances in the corpus (Part I)

<b>Human contents</b>	people	33	man	4	wife's mother	1
	parents	18	siblings	4	son-in-law	1
	children	25	student	4	daughter	1
	woman	13	family members	3	grandfather	1
	wife	12	younger generation	3	grandma	1
	husband and wife	8	laborer	3	old people	1
	father	8	housewife	2	adults	1
	husband	5	son	2	companion	1
	head of a family	5	friends	2	patient	1
	mother	5	elder generation	2	slaves	1
	husband's mother	4	teacher	2	minions	1
	servants	4	young people	1	model	1

It is natural for humans to be a major type of family contents, since a family in human society is typically constituted by people, and the applications of personal pronouns and kinship terms in the corpus examples often indicate the human contents of a family. Children, parents, husband and wife are specific human contents that appear comparatively more frequently than others because they are usually considered as the core members of a family. It is also observed that a Chinese family container can have relatives from marriage, elder generations or even non-kin family servants inside it, which may reveal that the Chinese model of family is not restricted to the key members of husband and wife or parents and children but can be extended to include other members based on marriage or pseudo familial relations in social interactions (Li 2006).

The high frequency of women in the corpus may imply the close relationship between family and women in the Chinese culture. As discovered by sociologists, women in China have been under suppression and confined to family life for thousands of years because of the traditional Confucian family ethics (Eastman 1988; Ebrey 2003). In feudal times, women were not allowed to work in society like men, so they could only hold social roles as housewives and mothers after marriage to look after other family members at home.

Nowadays, women are able to compete with men in all professions and enjoy a more equal status in society, but the traditional cultural expectations on women's sacrifice for their families do not disappear totally (Zang 2008). Therefore, the larger number of women's appearances as family contents may echo the traditional Chinese views on their major functions within their own families. Among the male members of a family, husband and father appear more often than brothers, son or grandpa as the crucial members of a family. Moreover, the relationship between a wife and her mother-in-law is usually in tension, which becomes the hotbed for domestic conflicts and quarrels between husband and wife, so a husband's mother also often appears in a family container owing to her indispensable role in Chinese family issues. In the early twentieth century, rich families had servants, maids, minions or slaves who occupy a position in the corpus as well.

The second part of the table 24 deals with the non-human family contents, the majority of which appear no more than two times, and more than half of the non-human family contents only show up one time in the corpus. However, the diversity of the non-human family contents is fully verified, as shown by the list in the second part of table 24 below:

Table 24: The contents in a family container and the numbers of their appearances in the corpus (Part II)

<b>Non-human contents</b>	status; position	20	morality	1	obstruction	1
	housework	5	tender feelings	1	phenomenon	1
	rights	5	trust	1	communist spirit	1
	properties	4	love	1	chauvinism	1
	duties	4	authority	1	ultranationalism	1
	social relation	4	reliance	1	human performance	1
	economic relation	3	division of labor	1	electric energy meter	1
	interpersonal relation	3	conversation topic	1	system	1
	power, authority	3	perfect order	1	profession	1
	interests, benefits	3	privilege	1	cooperation	1
	feudal ideology	2	marriage	1	spring	1
	contradictions	2	virtue	1	commodity	1
	work	2	disunity	1	machine	1
	equipment	2	view	1	camera	1
	factors	2	good custom	1	vacuum cleaner	1
	family relation	2	artistic atmosphere	1	fridge	1
	conjugal relation	2	family atmosphere	1	thermometer	1
	sexual relations	2	understanding	1	voice	1
	relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law	2	a cloud of sorrow	1	washing machine	1
			misfortune	1	elementary particle	1
			pain	1	pets	1
	spirit	2	matters	1	nations	1
	industrial structure	1	problem	1	Nitrogen	1
	economic structure	1	blood relations	1	life	1
	trifles	1	difficulty	1	image contour	1

Among all the non-human substances in a family container, status has the highest frequency

which is an abstract concept that is figuratively seen as a physical substance before it becomes a family content. The concept of STATUS usually involves a structure of power distribution among members of a social group and is often used to describe a person's social position or social class. Therefore, FAMILY is endowed with an inner structure of power when STATUS is regarded as one of the family contents, and the family container is thus elaborated as a structured container with levels of power where each family member enjoys a status inside the family according to the power distributed to him or her. As the elaboration of the FAMILY IS A CONTAINER metaphor, the FAMILY IS A STRUCTURED CONTAINER WITH LEVELS OF POWER metaphor is manifested in the following corpus examples:

- (46). 妇女同男子在家庭中地位平等，在全国大部分地区业已或正在逐步实现。（《我国公民的基本权利和义务》；李光灿；1955-6-1）

Woman with man at family in status equal, at whole country most part area already or being step by step realize.

The equal status of both men and women in a family had been realized or being realized step by step in the most part of the country. (*The Basic Rights and Duties of Our Citizens*; Guang can Li, 1955-6-1)

- (47). 在夫权的统治下，妇女在家庭中毫无地位，妻子成了丈夫的一种私有物。（《妇女学概论》；贺正时，刘红姣；1987-2-1）

At husband authority rule under, woman at family in no position, wife become husband one type personal belonging.

Under the rule of the authority of the husband, women had no position in the families, and wives became a personal belonging to their husbands. (*An Introduction on Women Studies*; Zheng shi He, Hong jiao Liu; 1987-2-1)

- (48). 在奴隶主和自由民的家庭里，家长至尊，在家中享有至高无上的地位和权力，.....。（《中国宏观社会学》；程继隆；1990-11-1）

At slave owner and free man family inside, family leader supreme, at family in enjoy paramount status and power .....

In the families of slave owners and free men, the leaders of the families were supreme, and enjoyed paramount power and status in the families..... (*Chinese Macro Sociology*; Ji long Cheng; 1990-11-1)

These examples above demonstrate that the status within a family mainly deals with the division of power among family members, a phenomenon that is consistent with sociological discoveries about the hierarchical power structure in the traditional Chinese family (see Eastman 1988; Liu 2006; Van Norden 2011), and more and more women have an equal family status with men in modern China (Zuo and Bian 2005; Zang 2008). As discussed by sociologists and shown in examples (47) and (48), male members of the family often took up the role of family leaders with more power and higher position than female members in the traditional Chinese families established within the patriarchal family system, and women were not seen as human beings but as private properties of their husbands with much less power and more inferior family status in the past. However, women in the most part of China have enjoyed the equal family status with men since the establishment of the People's

Republic of China in 1949 as in example (46), which indicates the declining influence of the traditional family system and the changes of women's role in modern family life. Moreover, examples (49) and (50) below show that laws have been enacted to safeguard the interests of children and make clear the rights and duties of all members in the family in modern China, but the hierarchy of power does not disappear totally within the family, and family members might compete with each other for a higher family status which may lead to the emergence of contradictions, problems and difficulties in a family container as in examples (51) and (52).

- (49). 为了保护子女在家庭中的合法利益，婚姻家庭法不仅明确规定父母有抚养教育子女的义务，而且还规定这种义务不因父母离婚而免除，.....。（《法学通论》；陈春龙，肖贤富；1981-6-1）

In order to protect children at family in legal interest, marriage family law not only clearly stipulate parents have raise educate children duty, but also stipulate this type of duty not because parents divorce exempt.

In order to protect the legal interests of children in a family, the law of marriage and family has not only clearly stipulated the duty of the parents to raise and educate their children but also stipulated that such duty will not be exempted because of divorce..... (*General Theories of the Law*; Chun long Chen, Xian fu Xiao; 1981-6-1)

- (50). 它规定调整婚姻、家庭关系的基本原则和结婚、离婚的条件，以及夫妻、父母、子女和其他家庭成员在家庭中的权利和义务。（《法学概论》；宋治安；1987-12-1）

It stipulate adjust marriage, family relation basic principle and marriage, divorce condition, as well as husband wife, parents, children and other family member at family in right and duty.

It stipulates the basic principles of adjusting marriage and family relations and the conditions of marriage and divorce, as well as the rights and duties of husband, wife, parents, children and other family members in the family. (*Introduction to the Law*; Zhi'an Song; 1987-12-1)

- (51). 小孩为了取得父母的宠爱和在家庭中的地位，兄弟姐妹之间出现强烈的竞争，不能友好相处。（解放军报；1991-6-22）

Child in order to get parents favor and at family in status, siblings among appear fierce competition, not can friendly get along with.

In order to get favor from the parents and status in a family, siblings complete fiercely among themselves and cannot get along well with each other. (*People's Liberation Army Daily*; 1991-6-22)

- (52). ..... 家庭中困难问题很多。（《领导心理学》；俞文钊；1987-1-1）

..... Family in difficult problems very many.

.....There were a lot of difficult problems in the family.

(*Psychology for Leadership*; Wen zhao Yu; 1987-1-1)

Besides, the existence of the economic and industrial structures inside the family in the previous example (43) and example (53) below provides the evidence that the family is a

work unit for economic production, and family business is one of the major modes of business operations in Chinese society (Yan 2009; Ma and Cheng 2010). In addition to revealing the social and economic aspects of the family, examples (42) and (54) also exhibit the complex human relations based on marriage and blood ties among family members that can affect and change the form of the family. Furthermore, housework and household appliances of various kinds often appear in a family container as in examples (45) and (55), which can prove the changes in the family life style and the improvement of the material life in modern Chinese families.

- (53) ....., 但是**家庭**内部的经济结构已经发生变化, .....。 (《社会主义商品经济下的合作制与家庭经济》; 杨承训; 1988-2-1)

..... But family inside part economic structure already happen change, .....

..... But the economic structure inside the family had already changed..... (*Cooperation and Family Economy under the Socialist Commodity Economy*; Cheng xun Yang; 1988-2-1)

- (54). **家庭**中的经济关系和其它社会关系的变化, 又直接影响和制约着**家庭**中的两性和血统关系, 促使**家庭**在自身的自然关系和社会关系的矛盾运动中不断向前发展, 由低级形态进入高级形态。 (《中国宏观社会学》; 程继隆; 1990-11-1)

Family in economic relation and other social relation change, also direct influence and restrain family in two sexes and blood relation, urge family at self natural relation and social relation contradiction movement in not stop forward develop, from low form enter high form.

The changes of economic and other social relations in a family will directly influence and restrain the relations of the two sexes and blood ties within a family, and urge the family to develop forward continuously from lower form into higher form in the contradictions between its natural relations and its social relations. (*Chinese Macro Sociology*; Ji long Cheng; 1990-11-1)

- (55). 其次, 对偶家庭中的家务劳动增加了许多新的内容, .....。 (《家庭学概论》; 高健生, 刘宁; 1986-7-1)

Secondly, paring family inside housework labor add many new contents

Secondly, the housework in a paring family has added many new contents..... (*An Introduction to Family Studies*; Jian sheng Gao, Ning Liu; 1986-7-1)

Another major type of non-human family contents in table 24 consists of emotions, feelings, morality, spirit, trust, etc. as in examples (41) and (56), which are closely associated with human features and value systems. Sometimes, unusual things are also added into a family container that may reveal the creativity of the human mind. For instance, examples (57) and (58) are corpus results taken from novels where the size of the family container is specified as being very small or tiny, and both the spring season and sorrow are metaphorically conceptualized as physical substances in the family container. Since good

things are usually associated with light and warmth while bad things are connected with darkness and coldness (Kövecses 2004), spring could be the source domain of good things and favorable emotions for its warmth, and sorrow as a kind of undesirable emotion is metaphorically considered as the cloud that is able to spread and darken the sky by blocking the sunshine. The figurative conceptualization of spring and the SORROW IS CLOUD metaphor can express creatively the diverse emotions within a family and increase the rhetorical effects in Chinese literature works.

- (56). 葬送在一个根本不存在夫妻温情, 没有任何信赖依靠可言的家庭中?  
(《一个警察的 24 小时》; 窦卫华; 1993-2-1)  
Ruin at one completely not exist husband wife warm affection, not have any trust reliance can speak family in?  
(Did she) want to ruin everything in a family completely without trust, reliance and the warmth of love between husband and wife? (*The 24 Hours of a Policeman*; Wei hua Dou; 1993-2-1)
- (57). 春在人间, 春在这小小的家庭里。 (《我要逃避》; 唐弢; 1939-11-1)  
Spring at human world, spring at this tiny family inside.  
Spring was in the world, in this tiny family. (*I Want to Escape*; Tao Tang; 1939-11-1)
- (58). 不, 有一层愁云笼罩在这个小小的家庭里, .....。 (《一条宽阔的道路》; 张志明; 1955-1-1)  
No, have one layer sorrow cloud shroud at this tiny family inside, .....  
No, there was a layer of sorrow cloud shrouded inside this tiny family.....  
(*A Wide Road*; Zhi ming Zhang; 1955-1-1)

### 2.2.2 The contents entering or coming out of a family container

As a container, FAMILY is not completely closed, and the actions of entering into or coming out of the family container are signaled by the Chinese verbs of 进(jìn), 入(rù) and 出(chū). In the Modern Chinese Corpus, the linguistic examples of the FAMILY IS A CONTAINER metaphor with verbal markers are much fewer in number, frequency and variation than those with nominal markers of 中(zhōng), 里(lǐ) and 内(nèi), which may suggest that not everything can enter or come out of the family freely. Both human and non-human substances can enter or come out of a family container, as shown in the following table 25:

Table 25: The contents that can enter and come out of a family container and the numbers of their appearances in the corpus

The contents that can enter a family container						
Human contents	people	3	manager	1	attendant	1
	secretary	1	business employees	1	college students	1
Non-human contents	independent awareness	2	washing machine	1	video recorder	1
	air-conditioner	2	propaganda	1	television	1
	automobile	2	medicinal powder	1	fridge	1
	science	1	electric heating	1	art	1

	democracy	1	electric cooker	1	telephone	1
<b>The contents that can come out of a family container</b>						
<b>Human contents</b>	women	6	children	1	bureaucrats	1
	people	2	college students	1		
<b>Non-human contents</b>	cold wind					1

It is easy to understand why people can go into or come out of a family, since families in society are mainly constituted by people. Love affairs, marriage, work services and other types of human relations enable people to walk into a family as in examples (59) and (60). There seems to be no special gender preference in connection with who can go into a family, and people with various job titles are able to enter a family to perform their work. But women are more highlighted than other human contents that can come out of a family container, which again echoes the previous discussions about the changes in people's attitudes towards women and women's traditional role in family life and society. Example (44) shows that many women have been liberated from the feudal persecutions and come out of their families to work in society to gain economic independence since the 1980s in China, and walking out of the family to participate in social production has been considered as a symbol of revolution in example (61). The traditional stereotypical role for women as housewives without freedom to pursue their careers in society has been altered, and the Chinese women nowadays can have more freedom and options to choose their life styles and social careers. Except for women, people with social identities like college students or bureaucrats are also mentioned as the people who can also walk out of families when the family background is the major concern of the on-going communication, and children may come out of their families to live independently after they grow into adulthood as well.

- (59). 他是在晓庆 3 岁时进入这个家庭的。 (《银海弄潮儿—刘晓庆》; 杨晓雄, 乃明; 1988-4-1)

He be at Xiaoqing 3 years old when enter this family.

He went into this family when Xiaoqing was three years old. (*The Tide Player of the Silver Screen—Xiao qing Liu*; Xiao xiong Yang, Ming Nai; 1988-4-1)

- (60). 书记和经理还带领服务员深入到残疾人的家庭, 打扫房间、清洗被单, ..... (人民日报; 1992-5-3)

Secretary and manager still take attendants deep go arrive disabled people family, clean up room, wash bed sheet.

The secretary and manager also took attendants deep into the disabled people's families to clean up the rooms and wash the bed sheets..... (*China People's Daily*; 1992-5-3)

- (61). 有很长一段时间, 我们认为妇女走出家庭才是革命的标志。 (《建立社会主义的家庭教育学》; 余心言; 1982-4-20)

Have very long period time, we think woman walk out family be revolution symbol.

In a pretty long period of time, we were thinking that the symbol of

revolution for women was to walk out of the families. (*Construction of the Socialist Family Education*; Xin yan Yu; 1982-4-20)

Material substances are able to be taken into families by humans or through human activities. Most of the non-human substances that can go into a family container are modern household appliances such as television, fridge, telephone, air-conditioner, washing machine and electronic gadgets which started to enter into the Chinese families in the 1980s after the open-up policy was carried out and the common people's life began to prosper economically. Private automobiles also appeared in rich families gradually. Table 25 somehow can demonstrate the economic take-off of the country and those material benefits brought into the individual Chinese families, so it is natural to see modern household appliances enter into the bettered-off Chinese families, but once they are inside a family container, they stay there and will not come out until they are broken. Sometimes, intangible things without a definite shape such as independent awareness, science or the promotion of the new way of child delivery can also go deep into families, as in the corpus examples below:

- (62). 独立意识，悄悄走进家庭，当竞争机制引入到我们今天社会生活的方方面面之后，经济建设这架庞大机器就在严格地挑选着优秀人才。  
(《独立意识悄悄走进家庭》；霍纲; 1992-10-1)

Independence awareness, quietly walk enter family, when competition system lead into arrive our today social life every aspect after, economic construction this big machine at strictly choose excellent talents.

The awareness of independence quietly went into families. After competition has been led into every aspect of our present social life, the machine of the economic construction has started to choose strictly the excellent talents. (*The Awareness of Independence Quietly Enter into Families*; Gang Huo; 1992-10-1)

- (63). 科学深入社会，深入家庭，现代家庭既已接受现代科学的思想，就一时一刻也不能离开它了。(《家庭关系学》；史仲文，何长华; 1989-9-1)  
Science deep enter society, deep enter family, modern family already accept modern science thinking, then for a single moment also not can leave it.

Science went deep into the society and families. Since modern families had accepted the modern scientific thinking, they could not leave it for a single moment. (*Studies on Family Relations*; Zhong wen Shi, Chang hua He; 1989-9-1)

- (64). 新中国刚一成立，新法接生的宣传便象春风一样吹进祖国的城市乡村，深入到了每一个家庭。(《贺诚传》；冯彩章，李葆定; 1984-12-1)  
New China just establish, new law child delivery promotion then like spring wind blow enter native country city village, deep enter arrive every family.

Once the new China was established, the promotion of the new method of child delivery was like spring wind blowing into the cities and villages of the native country as well as deep into every family. (*The Biography of*



- (65). 弄堂里，家庭中又吹出了冷风，比扬州数九天的风更厉害，……（《太阳，你什么时候欠起脚跟》；相朴；1986-7-20）

Alley inside, family in again blow out cold wind, than Yangzhou coldest day wind more sharp, ……

In the alleys and family, the cold wind was blowing out again, which was even sharper than that of the coldest winter time in Yangzhou……（*The Sun, When You Will Be On Your Toes*; Pu Xiang; 1986-7-20）

It is no doubt that metaphor and simile are involved when intangible substances enter into a family container, since these intangible substances are mainly abstract concepts that are not capable of carrying out any motions without being conceptualized figuratively as living entities. The promotion of the new method of child delivery is seen as the spring wind through a simile in example (64). Compared with other seasons, spring is often associated with hope and newborns, so the spring wind is suitable to express the spread of the promotion of the new way of child delivery for its positive entailments that the spring wind is warm and gentle, and brings comfort and enjoyment that people usually welcome and accept with joy. However, the cold wind is not so favorable because coldness often results in uncomfortable quivers of the body and the declining of the body functions. It is discovered from life experience that except the natural coldness in nature, people also feel cold when they are close to death, in fear or suffering from very bad news and big shocks in life. The corresponding reactions of the human body in natural coldness and the unfavorable life situations lay the foundation for the metonymy of EFFECT FOR THE CAUSE, so negative emotions, bad news or big shocks in life can be understood metonymically through the bodily senses and responses towards the coldness. Therefore, COLD WIND is chosen to be the source domain for conveying the negative emotions or bad news that come out of a family, and the BAD NEWS/NEGATIVE EMOTIONS ARE COLD WIND metaphor is activated in example (65) together with the FAMILY IS A CONTAINER metaphor to express the intended meaning.

### 2.2.3 Specific family containers

The family container has been specified in several corpus examples, as summarized in table 26 below:

Table 26: The specific family containers and the numbers of their appearances in the corpus

Family is (a /an)		cradle	1
nest	3	school	1
cage	3	circle	1
hole	2	society	1

Animal nest, cage, bottomless hole and cradle in examples (66), (67), (68) and (69) are all common physical containers in the world, and people are able to acquire enough amount of knowledge from life experience about those containers. So, the metaphors of FAMILY IS AN ANIMAL NEST, FAMILY IS A CAGE, FAMILY IS A BOTTOMLESS HOLE and FAMILY IS A CRADLE are specifications of the general FAMILY IS A CONTAINER metaphor to highlight different aspects of

the family. The concrete source domains of NEST and CRADLE serve well to indicate the relaxation and nurture functions of the family while BOTTOMLESS HOLE and CAGE describe vividly about the long-term confinement and considerable burdens of the family from which family members would like to escape. The HUMANS ARE ANIMALS metaphor is also activated when NEST and CAGE are chosen to be the source domains for FAMILY, and ivory metonymically stands for family wealth, so it is not rare to see the co-existence of metaphor and metonymy in the Chinese understanding of FAMILY.

- (66). 新家庭呢，真如你来信所说的巢窟，是在里边存身，睡觉，同禽兽一样的巢窟而已。（《倪焕之》；叶绍钧；1939-1-7）

New family, really like your come letter say nest, be at inside take shelter, sleep, with animals same nest nothing more.

The new family was exactly a nest as what you had said in the letter. It was just the same nest as those of animals, where you could take shelter and sleep inside. (*Huanzhi Ni*; Shao jun Ye; 1939-1-7)

- (67). “在这种家庭中，长一辈是前清的官员，下一辈靠父亲或祖父的财产过奢侈闲懒的生活，年轻的一代却想冲出这种‘象牙的牢笼’。”（《文学原理》；王元骧；1980-4-1）

“At this kind family in, elder generation be previous Qing Dynasty officials, the next generation rely on father or grandfather property live luxurious lazy life, the young generation but want rush out this kind ‘ivory cage’.”

“In such kind of family, the elder generations were the officials of the Qing Dynasty, and the next generations relied on the property of their father and grandfather and lived a lazy, luxurious life. The young generation would like to rush out of this ‘ivory cage’.” (*Theory of Literature*; Yuan xiang Wang; 1980-4-1)

- (68). 她这个“家”是个填不满的无底洞。（《新风霞回忆录》；新风霞；1980-10-1）

She this family be fill not full bottomless hole.

Her family was a bottomless hole that was not able to be filled full. (*The Memoirs of Fengxia Xin*; Feng xia Xin; 1980-10-1)

- (69). 父母是子女的第一任老师，家庭是孩子成长的摇篮，……。（《教育社会学概论》；裴时英；1990-5-1）

Parents be children first teacher, family be child growth cradle.

Parents are the first teachers to children, and family is the cradle of their growth. (*An Introduction of Educational Sociology*; Shi ying Pei; 1990-5-1)

Moreover, a family is also metaphorically considered as a circle that gives identity to each family member and draws a clear line between family members and outsiders. The exclusiveness of a family circle can secure the interests of family members but on the other hand may restrict people's contacts to the outer world as suggested by example (70), because

people can be easily trapped in their small family circle due to early marriage, child rearing, the burdens of family chores and various problems in family life.

- (70). 如果过早地结婚，忙于操持家务、抚育子女等等实际问题，很容易把自己束缚在狭窄的小家庭圈子里，.....。 (《婚姻法讲话》；周家清；1964-4-1)

If too early marry, busy with manage house chore, rear child so on practical problem, very easy take self bound at narrow small family circle inside, .....

If married too early, (people) are easily bounded into the narrow circle of the small family by practical problems of managing house chores and child rearing..... (*Talks about Marriage Law*; Jia qing Zhou; 1964-4-1)

- (71). 家庭是儿童的第一个学校，父母是子女的第一个老师，.....。 (《生活教育理论》；胡国枢；1991-8-1)

Family be child first school, parents be child first teacher .....

Family is the first school for children, and parents are the first teachers..... (*Theory of Life Education*; Guo shu Hu; 1991-8-1)

- (72). 家庭也就是社会，家务劳动也就是社会劳动，.....。 (《家庭学概论》；高健生，刘宁；1986-7-1)

Family also just be society, housework also just be social work.....

Family is a society, and housework is social work..... (*An Introduction to Family Studies*; Jian sheng Gao, Ning Liu; 1986-7-1)

Defined as a functional social organization where people gather together by blood, marriage or adoption to live and work for shared purposes in sociology (Murdock 1949; Burgess and Locke 1953; Eastman 1988), the institution of family has a variety of functions, among which the education of children is often considered to be crucial to shape a child's moral character and personal values, and parents are the best models for the growth of their children. Thus, the FAMILY IS A SCHOOL metaphor is motivated to emphasize the educational function of the family in example (71) where parents are metaphorically seen as the first teachers for their children. As a basic social unit, the family also plays an important role in economic cooperation and reproduction in society, and the central position of the family in Chinese society further enhances the social functions of the family, which might lead to the activation of the FAMILY IS SOCIETY metaphor in example (72), with the concept of SOCIETY also figuratively regarded as a container with housework inside. All in all, the specifications of the family container do not appear so frequently in the corpus, suggesting that the general FAMILY IS A CONTAINER metaphor is more conventional and preferred to understand the concept of FAMILY in the Modern Chinese Corpus.

## 2.3 Building

BUILDING is another conventional source domain to conceptualize FAMILY, since the application of the FAMILY IS A BUILDING metaphor has been observed in the meaning construction of the Chinese compounds with 家(jiā). However, the only 29 linguistic

examples of the FAMILY IS A BUILDING metaphor presented in appendix 5 indicate that BUILDING is not a highly preferred source domain for FAMILY in Chinese, and the FAMILY IS A BUILDING metaphor is often marked by a group of Chinese verbs with their meanings concentrating on the construction of the family building. It is clear from table 27 that among all the verbal indicators of the FAMILY IS A BUILDING metaphor, 建立(jiàn lì) has the highest number of appearance in the corpus. The character 建(jiàn) means “to build, construct or establish” while the character 立(lì) can describe the upright, vertical shape of a building with its meaning of “standing, erecting or setting up”, so 建立(jiàn lì) is a commonly used Chinese verb to talk about a building’s construction. The character 成(chéng) is also a frequent indicator of the FAMILY IS A BUILDING metaphor because 成(chéng) as a verb shares the same meaning with 建(jiàn) when it precedes 家(jiā) in Chinese.

Table 27: The verbal indicators of the FAMILY IS A BUILDING metaphor and the numbers of their appearances in the corpus

建立(jiàn lì)	build up; establish	17	建成(jiàn chéng)	construct	1
成(chéng)	set up; establish	6	建(jiàn)	construct; establish	1
立(lì)	set up; establish	1	建设(jiàn shè)	construct	1
成立(chéng lì)	establish	1	组建(zǔ jiàn)	build up	1

It is important to note that the complex structure and the type of the family building are not elaborated further in these linguistic manifestations of the FAMILY IS A BUILDING metaphor, but the size, the condition, the foundation, the basic construction and the stability of a family building are touched upon as shown in the following corpus examples (73) to (77):

- (73). 有的青年认为：早点结婚成立小家庭是一种“幸福”，……（《婚姻法讲话》；周家清；1964-4-1）  
Some young people think: early a little marry set up small family be one kind “happiness” ……  
Some young people thought that getting married early and setting up small families are a kind of happiness. (*Talks about Marriage Law*; Jia qing Zhou; 1964-4-1)
- (74). 建立民主、和睦、美满、幸福的社会主义家庭，……。 (《思想政治工程学》；徐昶，单荣范，王传遂；1986-6-1)  
Establish democratic, harmonious, satisfactory, happy socialist family, ……  
Establish democratic, harmonious, satisfactory and happy socialist families…… (*The Engineering of the Ideological and Political Work*; Chang Xu, Rong fan Shan, Chuan sui Wang; 1986-6-1)
- (75). 这象征着他们即将建立的家庭是牢不可破的。 (《爱琴海的珍珠》；韩红；1990-8-1)  
This symbolize they will establish family be stable not can break.  
It symbolizes that their family established soon will be stable and unbreakable. (*The Pearl of Aegean Sea*; Hong Han; 1990-8-1)

- (76). 我们常想，这是家庭基本建设，多花点钱也应买好的，……。 (《面对市场的诱惑》；欣文; 1991-1-1)

We often think, this be family basic construction, more spend a little money also should buy good things.

We always think that this is the basic construction of a family, and we should buy good things even we have to spend more money.....  
(*Facing the Temptation of the Market*; Wen Xin; 1991-1-1)

- (77). 我国的婚姻家庭制度能使我国人民在婚姻自由、男女平等的基础上建立幸福家庭的愿望得到满足。 (《社会主义社会学》；高平; 1991-7-1)

Our country marriage family system can make our country people at marriage freedom, man woman equal basis up establish happy family wish get satisfy.

The system of marriage and family in our country can satisfy our people's wish of establishing happy families on the basis of free marriage and equal status between men and women. (*Socialist Sociology*; Ping Gao; 1991-7-1)

A family building can be big or small but it is not so important to give more details about whether it is a skyscraper or a seaside cottage, since the architectural structure or the design feature of a family building is not so relevant and necessary to the wish of having a satisfactory family and the situation where the FAMILY IS A BUILDING metaphor is activated simply to indicate the establishment of a family after marriage. Moreover, the family building in these examples is often connected with concepts of HARMONY, STABILITY and HAPPINESS that can clearly reflect the traditional Confucian family values and the evaluation standards for making judgments about individual Chinese families (Eastman 1988; Zang 2008; Rosenblatt and Li 2011). The family building in example (74) is also socialist in nature and associated with the concept of DEMOCRACY, which may reveal the integration of the Confucian family traditions and the socialist ideology in the comprehension of FAMILY in modern China. Besides, freedom of marriage and equality between men and women have become the foundation of the family building in example (77), which can prove the great changes in marriage and gender inequality in modern Chinese society as well.

## 2.4 Living organism

In addition to those inanimate source domains discussed above, the concept of FAMILY is also understood metaphorically as an organism that is alive to carry out various activities, as demonstrated by the corpus examples below:

- (78). 有过两个家：一个，我抛弃了它；一个，它离开了我。 (《大学春秋》；康式昭，奎曾; 1981-11-1)

Have had two family, one, I abandon it; one, it leave me.

I have had two families: one was abandoned by me; the other one left me.  
(*The Spring and Autumn in the University*; Shi zhao Kang, Zeng Kui; 1981-11-1)

- (79). 有的人前一个家庭刚解体，后一个家庭接踵而来。 (《实用心理学全书》；刘飞茂，成志伟；1988-1-1)  
Some people previous one family just disintegrate, later one family follow on heel come.  
Some people have the previous family disintegrated, and the next family follows up rapidly. (*Practical Psychology*; Fei mao Liu, Zhi wei Cheng; 1988-1-1)
- (80). 但是，这里活着一个穷人的家庭 .....? (《处女地》；马宁；1930-4-15)  
But, here live one poor people family.....?  
But here lived a poor people's family.....? (*The Virgin Land*; Ning Ma; 1930-4-15)
- (81). 那时候，国破了，家亡了！ (《前夜》；阳翰笙；1985-12-1)  
At that time, country broken, family dead!  
At that time, the country was broken and the family was dead!  
(*Eve*; Han sheng Yang; 1985-12-1)

It is hard to judge whether the actions in the examples above are performed by a person or an animal, but FAMILY is definitely conceptualized as a living organism that is capable of taking the initiative to make different motions. As a mortal organism, the family can leave or follow up people in examples (78) and (79), and it can also live or die in examples (80) and (81). Besides, other metaphors of FAMILY such as FAMILY IS A POSSESSED OBJECT and FAMILY IS A WHOLE PHYSICAL OBJECT WITH PARTS are activated together with the FAMILY IS A LIVING ORGANISM metaphor in these examples to express the desired meaning, which can justify again the tendency of using more than one source domain to conceptualize the concept of FAMILY in a given Chinese sentence. Furthermore, the FAMILY IS A LIVING ORGANISM metaphor is a general metaphor that provides no further descriptions about the source domain, but the following example (82) contains the FAMILY IS A MONSTER metaphor that specifies the living organism as a monster.

- (82). ..... 大家庭并不是没有来由的天降怪物。 (《权力的祭坛》；崔文华；1988-12-1)  
..... Big family not be not have reason sky fallen monster.  
..... Big families were not monsters fallen from the sky without any reason. (*The Altar of Power*; Wen hua Cui; 1988-12-1)

As a specification of the FAMILY IS A LIVING ORGANISM metaphor, the FAMILY IS A MONSTER metaphor is comparatively novel and creative in terms of its single appearance in the corpus and the sharp contrast that the metaphor brings to the image of family, since the family should be harmonious and stable as portrayed by the traditional Chinese family values, but monsters are often described as being terrifying in look, impervious to human reason and harmful to human life in Chinese folklore, so people naturally feel scared and want to escape immediately if FAMILY is seen as a dreadful monster. On the other hand, a big Chinese family is usually an extended family with three or more generations living under the same roof, which has been considered as the prototypical family model in feudal China (Eastman 1988;

Ebrey 2003; Zang 2008). The complex interpersonal relations and power hierarchy within a big family are usually the main reasons for domestic conflicts and oppressions that may underlie the motivation of the FAMILY IS A MONSTER metaphor, and people who fall victim to exploitation in family life are more likely to have the wish to escape from the control of the family monster. Therefore, the negative evaluation of the big Chinese family is creatively expressed through the unfavorable associations entailed in the source domain of MONSTER.

Another specification of the general FAMILY IS A LIVING ORGANISM metaphor is the FAMILY IS A CELL metaphor whose five linguistic examples in the corpus are displayed below:

- (83). 家庭是社会的细胞，它有着繁衍后代，使人类得以延续、社会保持连续性发展的功能。（《青年社会学》；费穗宇，穆宪；1987-7-1）

Family be society cell, it have reproduce later generation, make human can continue, society maintain continuous development function.

A family is a cell of the society. It has the functions of reproduction to make sure the continuation of human race and maintain the continuous development of the society. (*Sociology for Youth*; Sui yu Fei, Xian Mu; 1987-7-1)

- (84). 家庭是社会的细胞，一个人最先接触到的环境就是家庭。（《心理学150问》；车文博；1987-3-1）

Family be society cell, one person most first contact environment exactly be family.

A family is a cell of the society, and the environment a person meets first is the family. (*150 Questions about Psychology*; Wen bo Che; 1987-3-1)

- (85). 家庭作为社会的细胞，总是和社会机体之间保持着密切的联系。（《中国宏观社会学》；程继隆；1990-11-1）

Family as society cell, always be and society body between maintain close relation.

As a cell of the society, a family always keeps a close relation with the body of the society. (*Chinese Macro Sociology*; Ji long Cheng; 1990-11-1)

- (86). 家庭是国家的一个细胞，……！（《龙三精神》；蒋元明；1987-1-1）

Family be country one cell, ……!

A family is a cell of a country……! (*The Spirit of Longsan*; Yuan ming Jiang; 1987-1-1)

- (87). 那种“家庭消亡”论显然是错误的，因为在社会主义事业中，以高尚道德情操，共产主义品质为纽带的社会主义细胞，势必需要不断加强，……。 （《教育社会学概论》；裴时英；1990-5-1）

That kind “family die out” view obvious be wrong, because at socialist course in, with noble morality, communist character as tie socialist cell, certainly will need not stop strengthen, …….

The view of “families will die out” was obvious wrong because in the course of socialism, these socialist cells with a tie of noble morality and

communist character would be strengthened continuously for sure.....  
(*An Introduction of Educational Sociology*; Shi ying Pei; 1990-5-1)

It is clear that FAMILY is understood metaphorically as a cell of a country or a society which in turn is also figuratively considered as a living creature composed by cells. The functions of a family cell and its close relation with the body of the society are stated out in examples (83) and (85), and the ideological influence endows all family cells with a socialist nature in the course of socialism in example (87), with noble morality and the communist characters regarded metaphorically as ties to bind family cells together. The FAMILY IS A CELL metaphor goes hand in hand with other metaphors of A SOCIETY IS A LIVING CREATURE, A COUNTRY IS A LIVING CREATURE and NOBLE MORALITY AND THE COMMUNIST CHARACTERS ARE TIES to construct meanings for these examples. The motivation of these metaphors may rely on both biological knowledge about the functions of cells in a living creature and the common sense from life experience that a society or a country is usually constituted by individual families as the participants of social life and social production. The body of a living creature cannot maintain its normal function if the constituent cells fail to perform their tasks, and similarly, a society or a country cannot keep stability and develop continuously if the constituent families are in trouble. Each family is thus considered as a cell to constitute the body of the life creature of a society or a country, and such figurative conceptualizations of the concepts of FAMILY, SOCIETY and COUNTRY can vividly describe the close relationship between the family and a society or a country.

However, compared with the abundant linguistic examples of the FAMILY IS AN OBJECT and FAMILY IS A CONTAINER metaphors, the FAMILY IS A LIVING ORGANISM metaphor and its specifications of FAMILY IS A MONSTER and FAMILY IS A CELL have much fewer examples in the corpus, which may indicate that LIVING ORGANISM is not a preferred source domain to conceptualize FAMILY in modern Mandarin Chinese.

## **2.5 Human**

The human body is a common, familiar source domain in people's metaphorical understanding of abstract targets (Kövecses 2010a), because it is easily accessible and clearly delineated for people to obtain a great amount of knowledge about the structure and function of the human body from life experience. The Chinese people also share the universal experience of making sense of the world through the body, and the parts of the human body are also frequently used as source domains to conceptualize abstract concepts in Chinese (Yu 2004; Sun 2006). With 165 linguistic examples listed in appendix 6, the FAMILY IS A PERSON metaphor occupies the third place of the most common metaphors of FAMILY in the Modern Chinese Corpus, and FAMILY is able to take on various human characteristics and perform a variety of human actions through the application of the FAMILY IS A PERSON metaphor.

### **2.5.1 Personification of FAMILY**

The PERSON metaphor, sometimes referred as personification, can be “conceived as a form of ontological metaphor” whose “cognitive job seems to give a new ontological status to general categories of abstract target concepts and to bring about new abstract entities”, and “it is easier to observe more sharply delineated structure where there is little or none” with the



help of ontological metaphors (Kövecses 2010a: 38-39). FAMILY as an abstract target is hard to be described in detail but personification enables people to interpret it in terms of their knowledge about themselves. Table 28 below shows that the personification of FAMILY involves a wide range of conceptual elements which can roughly fall into two major groups: human attributes and human behaviors. More types of human behaviors than human attributes can be found in the corpus results, revealing that FAMILY is more frequently conceptualized as a person in action.

Table 28: The conceptual elements of the FAMILY IS A PERSON metaphor and the numbers of their appearances in the corpus

<b>Human attributes</b>	幸福 (xìng fú)	happy	14
	和睦 (hé mù)	harmonious; compatible	12
	有利益 (yǒu lì yì)/好处 (hǎo chù)	has interests or benefits	8
	有地位 (yǒu dì wèi)	has a (social, economic) status	7
	富 (fù)	rich	7
	民主 (mín zhǔ)	democratic	5
	团结 (tuán jié)	united	5
	寂寞 (jì mò)	lonely	2
	有私有财产 (yǒu sī yǒu cái chǎn)	has private property	2
	革命 (gé mìng)	revolutionary	2
	有势力 (yǒu shì lì)	has power	1
	有命运 (yǒu mìng yùn)	has a fate	1
	有阶级 (yǒu jiē jí)	(social) class	1
	正直 (zhèng zhí)	honest	1
	勤劳 (qín láo)	diligent	1
	无情 (wú qíng)	merciless	1
	热心 (rè xīn)	enthusiastic	1
	保守 (bǎo shǒu)	conservative	1
	顽固 (wán gù)	stubborn	1
	光荣 (guāng róng)	honorable	1
	安乐 (ān lè)	peaceful and happy	1
	反动 (fǎn dòng)	reactionary	1
	拮据 (jié jū)	short of money	1
	贫 (pín)	poor	1
	博大胸怀 (bó dà xiōng huái)	broad-minded	1
	大公无私 (dà gōng wú sī)	selfless	1
	文明风貌 (wén míng fēng mào)	civilized features	1
	喜气洋洋 (xǐ qì yáng yáng)	be radiant with joy	1
	有独立意识 (yǒu dú lì yì shí)	has awareness of independence	1
<b>Human behaviors</b>	教育 (jiào yù)	educate	14
	生产 (shēng chǎn)	produce	8
	有 (yǒu); 占有 (zhàn yǒu)	possess; occupy	8
	需要 (xū yào); 要求 (yāo qiú)	need; demand	6
	生活 (shēng huó)	live	5
	交/来往(jiāo/lái wǎng); 联系(lián xì)	contact; associate	5

交换 (jiāo huàn)	exchange	4
配合 (pèi hé)	cooperate	3
拥有奴隶 (yōng yǒu nú lì)	own slaves	3
花费 (huā fèi); 开销 (kāi xiāo)	expense; cost	3
相处 (xiāng chǔ)	get along with	3
受压迫 (shòu yā pò)/剥削 (bō xuē)	under exploitation	3
期望 (qī wàng); 指望 (zhǐ wàng)	expect; count on	3
给 (gěi)	give	3
懂(dǒng); 理解(lǐ jiě); 了解(liǎo jiě)	understand	3
帮助 (bāng zhù); 助长 (zhù zhǎng)	help; foster	2
承担 (chéng dān); 担负 (dān fù)	undertake; shoulder up	2
决裂关系 (jué liè guān xì)	break up relations	2
有习惯 (yǒu xí guàn)	has habits	2
被背叛 (bèi bèi pàn)	be betrayed	2
负责任 (fù zé rèn)	take responsibility	2
培养 (péi yǎng)	cultivate	2
统治 (tǒng zhì)	rule	2
破产 (pò chǎn)	bankrupt	2
关心 (guān xīn)	be concerned with	2
爱护 (ài hù)	care for	2
解决 (jiě jué)	solve	2
带 (dài)	bring	2
创造 (chuàng zào)	create	1
使用 (shǐ yòng)	use	1
虐待 (nüè dài)	abuse	1
竞赛 (jìng sài)	compete	1
进步 (jìn bù)	progress	1
经营 (jīng yíng)	operate	1
认识 (rèn shí)	recognize	1
同情 (tóng qíng)	sympathize	1
引导 (yǐn dǎo)	guide	1
嘲笑 (cháo xiào)	ridicule	1
管教 (guǎn jiào)	discipline	1
看待 (kàn dài)	look upon	1
包办 (bāo bàn)	take everything on oneself	1
孕育 (yùn yù)	be pregnant with	1
享受 (xiǎng shòu)	enjoy	1
大哭 (dà kū)	wail	1
大骂 (dà mà)	curse	1
拖住 (tuō zhù)	drag	1
限制 (xiàn zhì)	restrict	1
等待 (děng dài)	wait	1
放松 (fàng sōng)	relax	1
姑息纵容 (gū xī zòng róng)	indulge	1
死里逃生 (sǐ lǐ táo shēng)	barely escape from death	1

聚精会神 (jù jīng huì shén)	concentrate one's mind on	1
施加措施 (shī jiā cuò shī)	take measures	1
达成协议 (dá chéng xié yì)	reach an agreement	1
有封地 (yǒu fēng dì)	own fief	1
开清单 (kāi qīng dān)	write down a list	1
被说服 (bèi shuō fú)	be persuaded	1
口角 (kǒu jiǎo)	quarrel	1
受苦 (shòu kǔ)	suffer	1
娱乐 (yú lè)	entertain	1
鼓励 (gǔ lì)	encourage	1
沟通 (gōu tōng)	communicate	1
保障 (bǎo zhàng)	ensure	1
照顾 (zhào gù)	look after	1
提亲 (tí qīn)	propose a marriage	1
交息 (jiāo xī)	pay interest	1
磋商 (cuō shāng)	consult	1
签字 (qiān zì)	sign	1
加入 (jiā rù)	join	1
希望 (xī wàng)	hope	1
反对 (fǎn duì)	oppose	1
分担 (fēn dān)	share	1
听话 (tīng huà)	be obedient	1
畏缩 (wèi suō)	flinch	1
团圆 (tuán yuán)	reunite	1
注重 (zhù zhòng)	lay emphasis on	1
选出 (xuǎn chū)	choose	1
抱着 (bào zhe)	embrace	1
保卫 (bǎo wèi)	defend	1
繁衍 (fán yǎn)	reproduce	1
祝贺 (zhù hè)	congratulate	1

Many attributes unique to human beings are bestowed to FAMILY to signal the application of the FAMILY IS A PERSON metaphor, among which happiness and harmony are two family features mentioned more times than others in the corpus, a phenomenon echoing the earlier discussions about the key Chinese family values. As demonstrated by the previous examples (74), (77) and example (88) below, a happy and harmonious family is more welcomed in modern China, and the FAMILY IS A BUILDING metaphor is activated together with the FAMILY IS A PERSON metaphor to express the establishment of families with desired features. Moreover, FAMILY is a person that enjoys benefits and economic, political and social status in examples (89) and (90), and it may have positive human moral traits such as honesty and diligence in example (91) or negative attribute of mercilessness in example (92). Given the important role of the family in social economy and the domination of the hierarchical structure in the Chinese family and society, it is natural to see the frequent appearances of the family's benefits, status and wealth in the corpus, since they are closely connected with the hierarchy of power. Besides, SOCIETY is also metaphorically seen as a person and shares the

same human qualities with FAMILY as in examples (89) and (92).

- (88). 只有实现离婚自由, 才能保障所有男女都能建立民主和睦、团结幸福的家庭。 (《法学教程》; 李思政; 1984-4-1)  
Only realize divorce freedom, can guarantee all men women can establish democratic harmonious, united happy family  
Only through the realization of the divorce freedom can guarantee that all men and women are able to establish democratic, harmonious, united and happy families. (A Course in Law; Si zheng Li; 1984-4-1)
- (89). 在社会主义社会, 家庭与社会利益是一致的, ..... (《教育社会学概论》; 裴时英; 1990-5-1)  
At socialist society, family and society benefit be concordant.....  
In socialist society, the benefits of families and the society are concordant ..... (An Introduction of Educational Sociology; Shi ying Pei; 1990-5-1)
- (90). 儿童家庭的经济地位、政治地位和社会地位决定着儿童受教育的条件和受教育的内容, ..... (《小学儿童心理学》; 胡德辉; 1983-6-1)  
Child family economic status, political status and social statue determine child receive education condition and receive education content.  
The economic, political and social status of a child's family determines the condition and the content of the child's education..... (Primary School Children Psychology; De hui Hu; 1983-6-1)
- (91). ..... 这一家仍然是过去那个正直、勤劳的家庭。 (《春天到了鸭绿江》; 雷加; 1954-9-1)  
..... This one family still be past that upright, hardworking family.  
..... This family is still the upright and hardworking family as before. (The Spring Arrives the Yalu River; Jia Lei; 1954-9-1)
- (92). ..... 十五年过去了, 社会与家庭为什么对他仍是这样无情? (《桃李行》; 郑秉谦; 1981-5-1)  
..... Fifteen years pass, society and family why to him still be so merciless?  
..... Fifteen years has passed. Why the society and the family are still so merciless to him? (The Peach and the Plum; Bing qian Zheng; 1981-5-1)

In addition to exhibiting human attributes, FAMILY as a person can carry out a series of human behaviors in sequence as in examples (93) and (94), and SOCIETY and SCHOOL in example (94) are also metaphorically seen as humans to deal with various situations in real life with corresponding reactions and measures. As shown in table 28, those actions revealing the basic functions of the family in society appear more times than others, and the family's function to educate children seems to be more emphasized with its highest frequency in the corpus. From example (93) and other corpus examples in appendix 6, it is discovered that good family education has long been considered as important and indispensable for the

growth of children in China, even feudal families in the past paid great attention to the education of the young generation. Furthermore, individual Chinese families usually possess family properties and participate in social production to maintain life, so the actions to possess and produce also enjoy a comparatively high frequency.

- (93). 家庭一定要注意为孩子创造形成良好心理的环境, 并进行良好的教育。(《妇女学概论》; 贺正时, 刘红姣; 1987-2-1)

Family must need pay attention to for child create form good mental environment, also carry out good education.

Families must pay attention to create an environment for children to develop good mentality, and educate them well. (*An Introduction of Women Studies*; Zheng shi He, Hong jiao Liu; 1987-2-1)

- (94). 至于社会、家庭和学校, 在祝贺高考被录取学生的同时, 更应多关心落榜学生的处境, 理解他们、同情他们, 引导他们, 帮助他们接受挫折的心理考验, 千万不要嘲笑他们, 挖苦他们, 另眼看待他们, 有意无意地给他们施加各种精神压力。(羊城晚报; 1987-7-29)

As for society, family and school, at congratulate college entrance examination enrolled student at the same time, more should more take care of failed students situation, understand them, sympathize them, lead them, help them accept frustration mental test, never laugh them, mock them, other eye treat them, consciously unconsciously to them exert various kind mental pressure.

As far as the society, families and schools are concerned, except for sending congratulations to the students who are enrolled into universities, they should at the same time pay more attention to the situation of those students who failed the college entrance exam. They should understand and sympathize with them. They should lead and help them to accept the mental test of frustrations. Never laugh or mock at them, or treat them differently so that various mental pressures are exerted over them consciously or unconsciously. (*Yangcheng Evening News*; 1987-7-29)

It is also observed that no specifications of age, title or profession are presented when FAMILY is conceptualized as a person, and there is only one corpus example that may indicate the gender of the family:

- (95). ....., 这个家庭孕育的, 已不再是和顺, .....。(《晴雨黄山寄情录》; 梅汝恺; 1987-3-1)

..... This family pregnant already not any more be harmony.....

..... This family was not pregnant with harmony anymore.....

(*Placing Feelings on the Sun, the Rain and Huang Mountain*; Ru kai Mei; 1987-3-1)

With the meaning of “being pregnant with”, the Chinese word 孕育(yùn yù) can trigger the FAMILY IS A PREGNANT WOMAN metaphor, and HARMONY is metaphorically rendered as the desired fetus according to the Chinese family values. However, the negation word in example

(95) denies HARMONY as the fetus in the womb of the family, which may imply the development of unwanted domestic problems and conflicts within the family. Due to its single appearance in the corpus, the FAMILY IS A PREGNANT WOMAN metaphor can be regarded as a creative specification of the FAMILY IS A PERSON metaphor.

### 2.5.2 Human body as a source domain for FAMILY

The human body is believed to play “a key role in the emergence of metaphorical meaning in English and other western languages and cultures” (Kövecses 2010a: 18), and human body parts and organs are also involved in the Chinese people’s figurative thinking as detected from conventional Chinese idioms and proverbs (Yu 2004; Sun 2006). The comparative research of Yu (1998; 2008a; 2008b; 2009) on body-part terminology further demonstrates the fact that the human body and its constituent parts are common source domains for metaphorical reasoning and understanding of abstract concepts, with potentially universal metaphors discovered both in Chinese and English. However, only two corpus results contain the human body as the source domain to conceptualize FAMILY, despite the fact that a large number of linguistic examples of the FAMILY IS A PERSON metaphor can be identified from the corpus.

- (96). 对话是家庭的脉搏。 (《有一对年轻夫妇》; 朱立德; 1982-7-1)  
Dialogue be family pulse.  
Dialogue is the pulse of a family. (*There Is a Young Couple*; Li de Zhu; 1982-7-1)

- (97). 素婷本人是很好的同志, 可坏在她的反动家庭手里..... 玉冬的家庭是革命的, 光荣的, ..... (《染血的土地》; 冯德英; 1986-10-1)  
Suting herself be very good comrade, but bad at her reactionary family hand inside..... Yudong’s family be revolutionary, honorable .....  
Suting herself is a good comrade, but things turn bad in the hands of her reactionary family..... Yudong’s family is revolutionary and honorable. .... (*The Bloodstained Soil*; De ying Feng; 1986-10-1)

In fact, example (96) itself presents a metaphor in which the human body is used as the source domain for FAMILY and the dialogue among family members is deemed metaphorically as the pulse of the family body to stress its crucial function in family life, since having pulse is a vital symbol of being alive. It is known from life experience that dialogues within a family usually play an important role in strengthening family ties and offering a chance for family members to exchange ideas so as to reach compromises in front of conflicts and problems, so the family body will lose vitality if family members do not have dialogues and behave indifferently towards each other. Moreover, MAINTAINING A FAMILY IS MAINTAINING THE VITAL FUNCTIONS OF A HUMAN BODY as the entailment of the FAMILY IS HUMAN BODY metaphor might be also activated to emphasize the necessity of having dialogues among family members in order to maintain the normal function of the family body in daily life. On the other hand, FAMILY is metaphorically conceptualized as both a possessed object and a person who controls the development of other people in his or her hands in example (97), and hands as human body parts are directly mentioned to activate the FAMILY IS A HUMAN BODY

metaphor. With the application of three source domains of POSSESSED OBJECT, PERSON and HUMAN BODY, the abstract concept of FAMILY is simultaneously seen as a physical object possessed by people and a person with both human qualities of being reactionary, revolutionary or honorable and a body capable of manipulating the direction of a matter's development through its hands in the example, so different aspects of the family can be described and understood through different source domains.

Furthermore, target domains of FAMILY, SCHOOL and SOCIETY all belong to abstract complex systems that also include other abstract concepts such as MIND, CAREER, ECONOMIC SYSTEM, SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, and RELATIONSHIP (Kövecses 2010a). According to Kövecses (2010a), the human body often serves as the source domain when abstract complex systems are conceptualized metaphorically as a person, with the main meaning of the metaphor focusing on “the appropriateness of the condition” and “the structure of an abstract system”, and as a result, primary metaphors of “AN APPROPRIATE CONDITION IS A HEALTHY CONDITION, INAPPROPRIATE CONDITIONS (DIFFICULTIES, PROBLEMS) ARE ILLNESS and THE STRUCTURE OF AN ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEM IS THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURE OF THE HUMAN BODY” (Kövecses 2010a: 157-158) are yielded to understand abstract complex systems. The examples (92) and (94) indeed prove that FAMILY, SCHOOL and SOCIETY are all conceptualized metaphorically as a person in Chinese but the human body is not a preferred, frequently used source domain to understand FAMILY in terms of its only two appearances in the corpus, and those abundant examples of the FAMILY IS A PERSON metaphor also indicate that human attributes and human behaviors are much more in focus than the human body in the metaphorical comprehension of FAMILY in Chinese. Therefore, the CHARACTERISTICS OF AN ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEM ARE ATTRIBUTES OF A PERSON and MOVEMENTS OF AN ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEM ARE BEHAVIORS OF A PERSON metaphors seem to be employed and elaborated in the corpus results where FAMILY can display various human properties and implement different kinds of human behaviors as what a person normally does in real life.

## 2.6 Plant

Plants are also considered as a kind of familiar source domain to make sense of abstract concepts (Kövecses 2010a), and people can easily gain knowledge about natural plants from their life experience. The following linguistic examples reveal that the concept of FAMILY is conceptualized as a plant in Chinese as well, and all 21 corpus results of the FAMILY IS A PLANT metaphor can be found in appendix 7.

- (98). 你只要想像着我家中的灰尘堆积起来的情形，便可以推出我家庭衰败的程度了！ (《还乡》；王以仁；1926-3-10)

You only can imagine my home in dust accumulate stand up situation, then can predict out my family decay degree!

You can predict the degree of the decay of my family if you can only imagine the accumulation of the dust in my home. (*Returning to the Hometown*; Yi ren Wang; 1926-3-10)

- (99). 但无论怎样，这里生长着一个家庭，大人，小孩子…… (《处女地》；马宁；1930-4-15)

But no matter how, here grow one family, adult, small child……

No matter what happens, here grows a family, adult, children..... (*The Virgin Land*; Ning Ma; 1930-4-15)

- (100). 例如，欲**家庭**发达，必须**全家**各分子克勤克俭而后可。（《社会学原理》；孙本文；1935-5-1）

For example, want family flourish, must entire family every family members industrious and thrifty then after can.

For example, if (you) want the family to flourish, all the family members must be industrious and thrifty first. (*Principles of Sociology*; Ben wen Sun; 1935-5-1)

- (101). 这原因就是**这个家庭**已经没落。（《简论瞿秋白的思想发展及其特点》；王铁仙；1981-6-20）

This reason exactly be this family already decline.

The reason was exactly because this family had already declined. (*Brief Discussions on the Development and Characteristics of Qiubai Qu's Thought*; Tie xian Wang; 1981-6-20)

- (102). 第一次质的飞跃是由原始社会的对偶婚制**家庭**，发展成为阶级社会的片面一夫一妻制**家庭**。（《中国宏观社会学》；程继隆；1990-11-1）

The first qualitative leap be from primitive society the paring system family, develop become class society one-sided monogamous family.

The first qualitative leap is the development from the paring family in the primitive society to one-sided monogamous family in the class society. (*Chinese Macro Sociology*; Ji long Cheng; 1990-11-1)

These linguistic examples above demonstrate that the FAMILY IS A PLANT metaphor in Chinese can be triggered by several Chinese verbs whose meanings and appearances in the corpus are shown in table 29:

Table 29: The verbal indicators of the FAMILY IS A PLANT metaphor and the numbers of their appearances in the corpus

发展 (fā zhǎn)	grow; develop	8
兴(xīng)/兴旺(xīng wàng)/发达(fā dá)/繁荣(fán róng)	prosper; flourish; bloom; thrive	6
衰败 (shuāi bài)/没落 (mò luò)	decay; wither; decline	5
生长 (shēng zhǎng)	grow; grow up	1

Based on their respective meanings, these verbs in table 29 can be used to describe the condition of a plant in its life cycle. When they serve as the verbal indicators of the FAMILY IS A PLANT metaphor, 生长(shēng zhǎng) and 发展(fā zhǎn) can express the growth and development of the family plant, and 兴旺(xīng wàng), 发达(fā dá) and 繁荣(fán róng) are applied to describe a prosperous family as a flourishing plant while 衰败(shuāi bài) and 没落(mò luò) depict a declining family as a withering or decaying plant. Generally speaking, the FAMILY IS A PLANT metaphor usually has the following mappings:

(a) A family is a natural plant

(b) The members or descendents of a family are biological parts of a natural plant



(c) The development of a family is the biological growth of a natural plant

The mappings are not evenly instantiated in the corpus, and those linguistic examples of the FAMILY IS A PLANT metaphor mainly deal with the growth, the prosperity and the withering stages of the family plant, but the second mapping is not involved so much in the metaphorical understanding of FAMILY, and no specifications of the plant type can be discovered in most corpus examples. It is known to all that a healthy plant has abundant branches and leaves while an unhealthy plant is bare and withering away, and the beautiful, prosperous flower season is followed by the time of fructification in the life cycle of a plant. Such rich knowledge about the elements in the source domain of a plant can be used to comprehend the target domain of FAMILY and give rise to the following metaphorical entailments of the FAMILY IS A PLANT metaphor:

A HEALTHILY DEVELOPING FAMILY IS A HEALTHILY GROWING PLANT

A PROSPEROUS FAMILY IS A FLOURISHING PLANT WITH ABUNDANT BRANCHES AND LEAVES

A FAMILY AT ITS PEAK TIME IS A PLANT AT FLOWERING SEASON

A DECLINING FAMILY IS A WITHERING OR DECAYING PLANT

A LONG-LIVED FAMILY IS A PLANT WITH ABUNDANT FRUITS

These metaphorical entailments may help people to understand the concept of FAMILY through their knowledge of a natural plant and describe the developmental stages of their families in terms of a plant's life cycle.

Among all linguistic examples of the FAMILY IS A PLANT metaphor in the corpus, only one example specifies FAMILY as a cherry-apple tree, and thus creates the unconventional FAMILY IS A CHEERY-APPLE TREE metaphor as shown below:

(103). 我把“家”，看成一棵枝叶繁茂果实累累芳香浓馥类如春天的海棠树：.....。（《静》；萧菱；1941-4-5）

I take “family”, see as one branch leave luxuriant fruit clusters of fragrance dense like spring cheery-apple tree; .....

I see “family” as a cherry-apple tree with luxuriant branches and foliage, countless fruits and dense fragrance like spring: ..... (*Tranquility*; Ling Xiao; 1941-4-5)

Coming from a novel written in the 1940s, example (103) not only specifies the image of a healthily growing family as a healthily growing cherry-apple tree but also refers to the biological parts of the tree so that the second mapping of the FAMILY IS A PLANT metaphor is manifested linguistically. The members or the descendents of a family are metaphorically seen as the branches, leaves and fruits of a cherry-apple tree. The entailments of the PLANT metaphor also help to comprehend the developmental stages of a family plant through the biological development of a cherry-apple tree, so the growth, prosperity and longevity of a family are metaphorically expressed by the cherry-apple tree's countless, fragrant fruits and luxuriant branches and foliage. The vivid rhetorical effect of the FAMILY IS A CHEERY-APPLE TREE metaphor is also clearly observed in the example.

The FAMILY IS A PLANT metaphor is a conventional metaphor in Chinese since it is often activated unconsciously by the application of those verbs in table 29, but it is not a highly preferred metaphor due to its low frequency in the corpus. The more specific FAMILY IS A CHEERY-APPLE TREE metaphor is an individual creation motivated by the writer's own experience in literature, and it does not have more linguistic examples in the corpus.

Therefore, it is possible for the Chinese people to use specific types of trees or flowers as the source domains to conceptualize FAMILY, depending on their individual experiences and personal feelings towards their families.

### 3. The coexistence of metaphor and metonymy

Metaphor and metonymy may co-occur in a single corpus example to convey the meaning. For instance, examples (104) and (105) below contain the FAMILY IS A CONTAINER metaphor that is marked by the locative words of 中(zhōng) and 里(lǐ) which have the meaning of “being inside” in Chinese. However, the FAMILY IS A PERSON metaphor is also activated in these two examples in order to express the joyful emotion of FAMILY and its human behaviors of providing forgiveness and toleration. Moreover, the metonymies of FACE FOR PERSON and RESULT FOR CAUSE are activated in example (103), so the human face as the most prominent and identifiable body part is used metonymically to refer to the person who has the woeful face that is usually resulted from unhappiness, distress or anxiety. In addition, example (105) has the metonymies of PLACE FOR PEOPLE AT THE PLACE and FAMILY FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY to achieve the meaning, since forgiveness is actually granted by family members rather than coming directly from the inside of the family, and family members as the content in the family container are metonymically expressed by the place where they stay. As discussed in chapter five, the PLACE FOR PEOPLE AT THE PLACE and FAMILY FOR MEMBER OF THE FAMILY metonymies are frequently in use in the meaning construction of 家里(jiā lǐ), 家中(jiā zhōng) and 家内(jiā nèi) when these compounds refer to family members, so these two metonymies are very conventional in modern Mandarin Chinese.

- (104) ..... 在喜气洋洋的家庭中，是不容愁苦的脸的。(《千万妇女中的一个呻吟者》；爰言；1939-3-1)  
..... At full of joy family in, be not tolerate woeful face.  
..... In a family full of joy, a woeful face was not tolerated. (*The Groaning Woman Among the Thousands*; Yan Yuan; 1939-3-1)
- (105). 她告诉我：她们已经得着家庭里的谅解，下月初将和小王订婚了。  
(《车》；王朱；1941-10-5)  
She tell me: they already get family inside forgiveness, next month at the beginning of will with Xiao Wang engage.  
She told me that they had gained the forgiveness in the family, and would have an engagement with Xiao Wang at the beginning of next month.  
(*The Car*; Zhu Wang; 1941-10-5)

Besides, it seems to be a common phenomenon in the Modern Chinese Corpus that two or more source domains can be adopted to conceptualize FAMILY metaphorically in one corpus example, and other metaphors may co-exist in the example to construct the intended meaning, as demonstrated by many corpus results analyzed earlier and the following examples of (106), (107) and (108):

- (106). ..... 我的在乡下的家更盼切的等待着我。(《县城风光》；何其芳；1936-12-1)

..... My at countryside family more eagerly wait for me.  
 ..... My family in the countryside is more eagerly waiting for my return.  
 (*The County Scenery*; Qi fang He; 1936-12-1)

- (107). 在扩大的家庭里，婆媳有共同的利益，如希望家庭发达，望下一代成龙，等等。（《社会学基础》；叶丽，李星万；1987-1-1）  
 At extended family inside, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law have common benefit, such as wish family flourish, wish next generation become dragon.  
 In an extended family, the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law share the common benefits, such as the wishes for a flourishing family, a good future for the children and so on. (*Basic Sociology*; Li Ye, Xing wan Li; 1987-1-1)
- (108). 改革、开放，使人们、使无数家庭逐步富裕起来，又逐渐把人们、把家庭投入市场。（《独立意识悄悄走进家庭》；霍纳；1992-10-1）  
 Reform, opening-up, make people, make numerous family gradually rich become, and then gradually take people, take family put enter market.  
 Reforms and the opening-up made people and numerous families gradually become rich, and then gradually put people and families on the market. (*The Awareness of Independence Quietly Enters into Families*; Gang Huo; 1992-10-1)

POSSESSED OBJECT and PERSON are two source domains used to conceptualize FAMILY in example (106), so FAMILY can be possessed by people and wait eagerly for people at the same time. In example (107), the FAMILY IS CONTAINER metaphor is marked by the locative word 里(lǐ) (inside) to emphasize the contents inside a family while the FAMILY IS A PLANT metaphor is marked by the verb 发达(fā dá) to focus on a family's prosperity. The culturally unique SUCCESSFUL CHILDREN ARE DRAGONS metaphor is lexicalized into the Chinese idiom 望子成龙(wàng zǐ chéng lóng) and activated in the example to express the wish for the good future of the next generation in the family, because dragon is a fictitious, deified animal in Chinese legends that symbolizes auspicious, omnipotent ability and the loftiest power. FAMILY is metaphorically seen as both a person who is able to become rich gradually and a commodity put on the market in example (108), and other metaphors of REFORM AND OPENING-UP IS A PERSON and A PERSON IS A COMMODITY are also applied to express the meaning of the example. The FAMILY IS A COMMODITY metaphor is not productive in the corpus, and the motivation of the metaphor in example (108) is based on the economic achievements brought by the opening-up policy in China since the end of the 1970s.

What's more, the coexistence of metaphor and simile is also discovered in the following corpus examples (109) and (110). The FAMILY IS A LIVING ORGANISM metaphor might be used to talk about the extinction of FAMILY in example (109), since FAMILY can die out to extinction only if it is metaphorically seen as a mortal creature. A cloth-wrapped bundle in Chinese literally refers to the heavy luggage that people put on their shoulders, so the simile FAMILY IS LIKE AN ENCUMBRANCE AND A CLOTH-WRAPPED BUNDLE emphasizes the heaviness of the family that requires people's labor to carry it. Similarly, the FAMILY IS A POSSESSED OBJECT

metaphor coexists with the simile PEOPLE WITH FAMILIES ARE LIKE SNAILS WITH SHELLS ON THE BACK in example (110), which can also stress the understanding of FAMILY as a heavy burden. It is common sense that a snail moves slowly with its shell carried on its back all the time. The shell must be big enough to house the snail, and it seems to be an inconvenient burden for a snail to move around with its shell on its back. Therefore, people with families are like snails with shells on their back and have to take their families with them whenever they make a move. With only one appearance in the corpus, the simile PEOPLE WITH FAMILIES ARE LIKE SNAILS WITH SHELLS ON THE BACK is novel and creative to choose the snail to fit the image of a person who has a family, implying that FAMILY can be an inseparable burden to restrict people's freedom to move as they wish.

- (109). 到五十年代末，又提出家庭消亡的问题，好象这是很快会实现的事，即使马上消亡不了，家庭也好像是个累赘，是个包袱。（《建立社会主义的家庭教育学》；余心言；1982-4-20）

Arrive 1950s end, again raise out family extinction question, as if this be very quick will realize matter, even if right away extinct not, family also like be encumbrance, be cloth-wrapped bundle.

At the end of 1950s, the issue of the extinction of family was raised up as if it were something realized very soon. Family seemed to be an encumbrance, a cloth-wrapped bundle, even if it would not be extinct right away. (*Construction of the Socialist Family Education*; Xin yan Yu; 1982-4-20)

- (110). ..... 我们有了家庭的人，如蜗牛背了壳，移动起来总不十分便利，你把你的家安顿到故乡去，你将准备远行，.....（《别懋庸》；曹聚仁；1937-7-10）

..... We have family people, like snail carry on the back shell, move always not fully convenient, you take your family settle down arrive hometown go, you will prepare further go, .....

..... We are people having families, who are like snails with their shells. It was not fully convenient for us to move. You settled your family down in your hometown, and then you prepared to go on a long journey..... (*Don't Praise the Success*; Ju ren Cao; 1937-7-10)

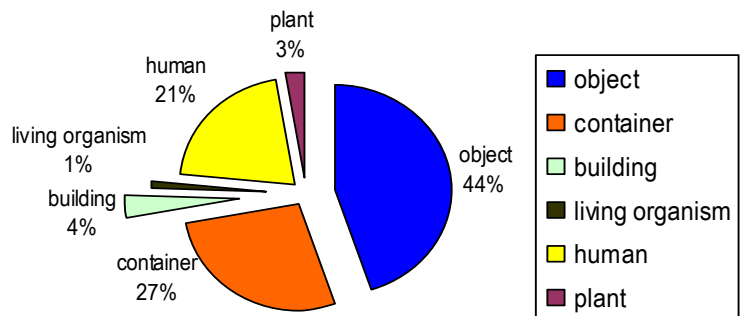
With the contribution of more than one source domain, different aspects of the target concept FAMILY have been described and understood metaphorically, and the coexistence of metaphor, metonymy and even simile may highlight different functions or properties of the family in real life and help to provide a more coherent interpretation of the communication topic in a given corpus example. In addition, the corpus results also indicate that the cluster of figurative expressions can enhance the rhetorical effects in both literature works and daily verbal communication.

#### 4. Conclusion

This chapter is dedicated to the discussion about the source domains for FAMILY that have been identified from the Modern Chinese Corpus, and the detailed analysis of the corpus

data has convincingly demonstrated that the abstract concept of FAMILY is usually understood metaphorically either as an inanimate physical object or a living creature in Chinese so that people can interact with it in life. The FAMILY IS AN OBJECT, FAMILY IS A CONTAINER and FAMILY IS A PERSON are three major metaphors to construct the concept of FAMILY as verified by the research discoveries of the Chinese compounds with 家(jiā) and the large amount of linguistic examples each metaphor has in the corpus. Table 30 shows that OBJECT, CONTAINER and HUMAN are the preferred and frequently used source domains to conceptualize FAMILY, since 44% of the corpus results have the source domain of OBJECT, 27% of the corpus results contain the source domain of CONTAINER and 21% of the corpus results use the source domain of HUMAN to interpret the concept of FAMILY. Other source domains such as BUILDING, PLANT and LIVING ORGANISM are not so frequently in use and do not have so many linguistic examples in the corpus, either.

Table 30: The distribution of the source domains for FAMILY in the corpus



It is observed from the corpus results that there are very few specifications of the general metaphors of FAMILY IS AN OBJECT, FAMILY IS A CONTAINER, FAMILY IS A PERSON, FAMILY IS A BUILDING and FAMILY IS A PLANT, and those specifications are more or less individual usages in literature works that have very low frequency in the corpus. Almost half of the corpus examples with the source domain of OBJECT elaborate FAMILY as a privately owned object to emphasize people's possessive control over their own families, and the remaining examples concentrate on descriptions of various human actions received by a family object as well as the physical features of a family object in appearance. The FAMILY IS A CONTAINER is lexicalized into the Chinese compounds with 家(jiā), and the application of the metaphor in the corpus results pays more attention to the contents inside the family container rather than the type of the family container itself. HUMAN BODY is not a preferred source domain to conceptualize FAMILY with its only two corpus examples but PERSON as a source domain for FAMILY is widely used in the corpus, with more than 160 linguistic examples of the FAMILY IS A PERSON metaphor focusing on a variety of human traits and behaviors endowed to FAMILY.

Moreover, BUILDING, PLANT and LIVING ORGANISM are less frequently used source domains to comprehend the concept of FAMILY in Chinese due to their much fewer linguistic examples in the corpus. The BUILDING metaphor has no specifications about the type of the family building at all but lays stress mainly on the construction of the family building, and the PLANT metaphor highlights the prosperity and the developmental stages of a family. Half of the ten corpus examples of the FAMILY IS A LIVING ORGANISM metaphor specify FAMILY as a cell, and the FAMILY IS A CELL metaphor is used to depict the social function of a family as a constituent cell of the society. There are also linguistic markers for identifying the FAMILY IS

A CONTAINER, FAMILY IS A POSSESSED OBJECT, FAMILY IS A BUILDING and FAMILY IS A PLANT metaphors, which may suggest the conventionality of these metaphors in the Chinese language. Besides, the FAMILY FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY metonymy is involved to convey the intended meaning as well, and the practice of applying two (or more) source domains to conceptualize FAMILY in one linguistic example is not rare in the corpus. It is also discovered that the coexistence of metaphor, metonymy and simile may reinforce the rhetorical effects in communication and offer a coherent comprehension about different aspects of family life and various functions of the family.

In addition, the Chinese cultural elements and the Chinese family values are visible in those corpus results from which the source domains for FAMILY have been identified. The abstract concepts of HARMONY and STABILITY along with the emotional concepts of HAPPINESS and AFFECTION are closely related to the concept of FAMILY in the corpus, which may reflect the standard of a culturally ideal family in China as well as the key Confucian values of family harmony and stability (Eastman 1988; Zang 2008; Rosenblatt and Li 2011). On the other hand, FAMILY is metaphorically conceptualized as a structured container with hierarchical power levels in the corpus examples. Such power hierarchy within the family echoes the sociological discoveries about the Confucian hierarchical family structure and status differences among family members (see Eastman 1988; Liu 2006; Van Norden 2011). The various kinds of contents in the family container may in a way prove the extensive connotations of the Chinese concept of JIA, since some of these family contents coincide with the propositional constituents of the cognitive model of JIA suggested by Zhou (2011), which includes the residential house, the family built upon blood or marriage and familial relations, the responsibilities and duties among family members, the household articles, the material and mental support for family members, and the responsibilities and values of the family members towards the family. What's more, the ideological influence on the understanding of FAMILY and the considerable changes in the prototypical family model and the issue of gender inequality in modern China are also detectable from the specific information provided by the corpus results.

However, there are limitations in the present research because the Modern Chinese Corpus as the source of the research data has only Chinese linguistic materials from the twentieth century. Thus, there might be over generalizations deriving from limited examples. More research findings will occur if future research can make use of different language corpora to find out whether there are changes in the metaphorical conceptualizations of FAMILY in Chinese over the centuries. Furthermore, comparative corpus studies about the concept of FAMILY across different languages with bigger language corpora in the future might also offer more satisfying research results to explore whether the metaphors of FAMILY discovered in the present research are universal metaphors shared by different cultures in the world.

## Chapter Seven: FAMILY as a Source Domain in Mandarin Chinese

The concept of FAMILY is figuratively conceptualized through major source domains of OBJECT, CONTAINER, PERSON, LIVING ORGANISM, BUILDING and PLANT in the Modern Chinese Corpus which also provides dozens of linguistic examples where 家(jiā) is used as a source domain to comprehend other abstract concepts. In English, the concepts of FAMILY and HOME are expressed by two words but they are expressed by the Chinese concept of JIA in a single Chinese character 家(jiā), with “family; home” considered as its prototypical meaning (Zhou 2011; Feng 2011). As a result, 60 linguistic examples of metaphors with 家(jiā) as source domain can be identified manually from the corpus by following the “metaphor identification procedure” (MIP) initiated by the Pragglejaz Group (2007), in which 40 examples have metaphors with FAMILY as source domain while 20 examples contain metaphors with HOME as source domain, and the on-line meaning of polysemous 家(jiā) is mainly determined by the context where the character is used. It is necessary to discuss in detail about these metaphors with 家(jiā) as source domain, since they might shed light on the Chinese social and cultural characteristics and offer a more comprehensive understanding of the Chinese concept of JIA as demonstrated by the research results of Cao (2005) and Li (2006). Therefore, all metaphors with 家(jiā) as source domain are carefully analyzed with corpus linguistic examples, and both word-by-word and normal English translation are provided for the clarity of explanation.

Furthermore, it is observed that FAMILY as a familiar source domain is frequently used in metaphorical conceptualizations of political concepts in Chinese, and many scholarly studies have verified the wide application of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor with discussions about Lakoff’s (1996) two family models of morality in American, European, Russian and Chinese political reasoning and political conceptions (see Lakoff 1996; Liu 2002; Musolff 2004; Cienki 2005a, 2005b; Li 2006; Cheng 2009; A’Beckett 2012; Kou and Farkas 2014; Steinmüller 2015). Inspired by research discoveries from the Modern Chinese Corpus and based on the author’s earlier joint research with Farkas in 2014, a comparative, corpus-based study of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor is also included in this chapter to investigate and compare the adoption of Lakoff’s (1996) two family models, the salience of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor and its function in Chinese, American and Hungarian political discourse, with the importance of culture as a contextual factor taken into consideration in discussion and analysis.

### 1. FAMILY as a source domain

As shown by the research findings about the Chinese compounds with 家(jiā), the concept of COUNTRY/STATE/NATION is conceptualized metaphorically as a family in the Modern Chinese Corpus due to the dominance of the Confucian thought and the integration of the concepts of COUNTRY/STATE/NATION and FAMILY in the historical development of the Chinese political system (Tan 1999; Wu 2006; Qian 2008), and the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor has been lexicalized into the compound 国家(guó jiā) (country-family). The origin and the application of 国家(guó jiā) may verify the conventionality of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor and the Chinese people’s unconsciousness in activating the metaphor whenever the compound is used to refer to a country, state or nation in Chinese. The close relation and the shared structure between a country/state/nation and the

family in early Chinese political system have motivated the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor that has helped the Chinese people to understand the governance of a country/state/nation in terms of the management of a family for more than two millennia.

Moreover, the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor is also linguistically expressed in the following examples retrieved from the corpus without the use of the compound 国家(guó jiā):

- (1). 俺梦也梦不见这样的家.....是不是那个电话员说的新中国就是像这样的一个大**家**呢? (《今夜星光灿烂》; 白桦; 1979-3-25)  
I dream also dream not see like this family..... be not be that telephone operator talk new China exact be like this one big family?  
I cannot even dream of such a family..... Is the new China talked by the telephone operator a big family like this? (*It Is Starry Tonight*; Hua Bai; 1979-3-25)
- (2). 为了迅速恢复发展国民经济, 更需要维护祖国大**家**庭的统一。(《科学社会主义》; 孔繁锦; 1985-4-1)  
In order to quickly recover develop national economy, more need maintain native country big family unification.  
In order to recover and develop the national economy quickly, it is more necessary to maintain the unification of the big family of the native country. (*Scientific Socialism*; Fan jin Kong; 1985-4-1)
- (3). .....其基本精神是使中华人民共和国成为各民族友爱合作的**大**家庭, .....。(《马克思民族理论与中国民族问题》; 彭英明; 1988-7-1)  
..... It basic essence be make the People's Republic of China become every ethnic nationality friendly cooperate big family.....  
..... Its basic essence is to make the People's Republic of China into a big family of friendly cooperation for all ethnic nationalities..... (*Marxist Ethnic Theory and Chinese Ethnic Problems*; Ying ming Peng; 1988-7-1)
- (4). .....仍然渗透出了在社会主义祖国的大**家**庭里, 一方有难、八方支援的共产主义精神的芬芳。(《现代新闻标题学》; 彭朝丞; 1989-1-1)  
..... Still permeate at socialist native country big family inside, one side have difficulty, eight sides help communist spirit fragrance.  
..... (It) still permeated the fragrance of the communist spirit of helping the people in need in the native country of a socialist big family. (*Modern News Titles*; Chao cheng Peng; 1989-1-1)
- (5). 以上事实都充分说明, 在人民民主专政的社会主义祖国的大**家**庭内, 各少数民族人民都和汉族人民一样, 行使着当**家**作主的权利。(《思想政治》(初中三年级全一册); 1992-6-1)  
Above fact all sufficient show, at people's democratic dictatorship socialist native country big family inside, every minority nationalities all with Han nationality the same, perform being family master right.  
All the facts above have sufficiently shown that within the big socialist



family of the native country with the people's democratic dictatorship, all minority nationalities perform the same right of being the master of the country as that of the Han nationality. (*Ideological and Political Work (for the third year students in middle schools)*; 1992-6-1)

It is shown that with the application of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor, the People's Republic of China is seen as a big country family where citizens or ethnic nationalities are drawn closer together as family members to cooperate, help or perform the right to be the master of the country within the ideological framework of socialism. According to Lakoff (1996), metaphor is an effective tool to relate the complex system of politics with concepts from life experience, and a given metaphor can highlight and make coherent certain aspects of life experience through its entailments (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). So, the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor in the corpus examples above not only provides insights into the political structure and constitution of a country/state/nation through people's knowledge about the family obtained from life experience but also highlights the right of being the master and the desirable socialist ethnic relations by metaphorically regarding all ethnic nationalities in China as family members of a big family. This FAMILY metaphor may also help to realize the political goal of achieving national unity and solidarity, since citizens or ethnic nationalities as family members are supposed to be close, friendly, supportive and cooperative (Keefe, Padilla and Carlos 1979; Sabogal et al. 1987) to maintain the integrity and unification of the country instead of disrupting it.

The application of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor in the corpus without the use of the compound 国家(guó jiā) on one hand may clearly reflect the influence of the Chinese cultural tradition on the metaphorical understanding of the political concept of COUNTRY/STATE/NATION in modern China. The dominant cultural value system and the main political groundwork for the ruling class have been established by Confucianism for more than two thousand years (Deng 2007), which not only advocated the familial hierarchy that corresponded to the political hierarchy and the social hierarchy (Liu 2006; Van Norden 2011) but also strongly supported the patriarchal, patrilineal traditional family system that revolved around nepotism in feudal China (Eastman 1988; Hamilton 1990; Tan 1999). As a result, the traditional family ethics was extended to generalize the principles of interpersonal relations, and the organization of the feudal royal governments was also based on kinship and nepotism, so the social, political lives of the Chinese people were always inseparable from complex familial relations in imperial times (Tan 1999; Van Norden 2011). Moreover, the ideological effects of the Confucian thought and the family-oriented style of human relationship are still visible in the political sector of the modern Chinese society (Zang 2008; Wang, Ye and Franco 2014), which may lead to the use of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor in those corpus examples above.

On the other hand, Lakoff (1996) claims that people's moral and political attitudes can be observed from the use of NATION AS FAMILY metaphor, and the conservative belief emphasizes self-discipline and self-reliance that characterize the Strict Father model while the liberal belief takes on the Nurturant Parent model that regards nurturance as the way to self-development and success. Lakoff (1996) also believes that the political model in China conforms to the Strict Father model which seems to be a valid conclusion, given the fact that the Chinese political system is established upon the model of the traditional Chinese family featured with the strict adherence to the familial power hierarchy and the severe punishment

for breach of the family rules or disciplines (Eastman 1988; Starr 2010). However, the corpus examples do not show any linguistic evidence that indicates “competition”, “discipline”, “obedience” or “punishment” that are the moral characteristics of the Strict Father model but have words with meanings of “being friendly”, “helpful” or “cooperative” which can be considered as the moral characteristics of the Nurturant Parent model. What’s more, it is usually the government or the highest ruler of the country/state/nation that is metaphorically seen as the parent or the family’s master while the mass of people are the children in the mappings of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor. But example (5) makes it clear that the Han nationality and all minority groups are family members that share the right of being the master of the country by negating such mappings and presenting the socialist ideology. Thus, the corpus results above seem to support the adoption of the Nurturant Parent model in modern Chinese politics, since the dominant, authoritative parent is absent, and all citizens as family members are given the equal right of governance so that they can help each other or work in cooperation to maintain the stability and normal function of the country.

In addition to the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor, the corpus examples below are linguistic manifestations of the ETHNIC NATIONALITIES ARE FAMILY metaphor, and all ethnic groups are thus expected to behave as family members according to the Chinese family values and ethics. Composed of 56 ethnic groups, the family of ethnic nationalities in China is often described as a big family in most of the examples, and the ethnic relations are specified as close and harmonious in examples (9) and (10). The tendency of chauvinism and narrow nationalism is opposed, and it is the sacred duty of every citizen to maintain the solidarity of the big family of Chinese ethnic nationalities in examples (8) and (11). The political goal of safeguarding national stability can be achieved by the application of the ETHNIC NATIONALITIES ARE FAMILY metaphor, since family members should love and help each other rather than fight with themselves within a family, so the stability of the country is easily maintained if all constituent ethnic nationalities live harmoniously as united family members in peace.

- (6). 岛上居住着我国民族大家庭的一员——高山族中的雅美人。(《兰屿风情》; 张宇; 1985-9-5)

Island up live our country nationality big family one member —Gaoshan minority group Yamei people.

On the island lives one member of our great family of nationalities—the Yamei people of the Gaoshan minority group. (*The Amorous Orchid Island*; Yu Zhang; 1985-9-5)

- (7). 这一当年一个部落的名称，从古代延续下来，则成为今天我国多民族大家庭中达斡尔民族的族称了。(《达斡尔族简史》; 1986-11-1)

This one in those years one tribe name, from ancient times last down come, then become today our country many nationality big family in Daur ethnic group name.

Such a name of a tribe has lasted from ancient times till now, and today becomes the name of Daur ethnic group in our country’s big multiracial family. (*Brief History of Daur Ethnic Group*; 1986-11-1)

- (8). 而在各民族的大家庭中，又必须经常反对大民族主义和狭隘民族主义

的倾向..... (《马克思民族理论与中国民族问题》; 彭英明; 1988-7-1)

But at every nationality big family in, also must often oppose chauvinism and narrow nationalism tendency.....

But in the big multiracial family, the tendency of chauvinism and narrow nationalism should be opposed frequently..... (*Marxist Theories of Nationalities and Chinese Ethnic Problems*; Ying ming Peng; 1988-7-1)

- (9). ....., 他逢人便讲:“真是回汉一家亲!” (人民日报; 1991-9-4)

..... He meet people then talk: “Really be Hui nationality Han nationality one family close!

..... He told it to everybody he met: “The Hui nationality and the Han nationality are really close as one family!” (*China People's Daily*; 1991-9-4)

- (10). 少数民族多同汉族交错分布, 形成一个多民族的和睦的大家庭。  
(《中国地理》(初中上册); 1992-6-1)

Ethnic minorities more and the Han nationality intermix distribute, form one multiracial, harmonious big family.

Ethnic minorities and the Han nationality are most of time living together intermixed, and formed a multiracial, harmonious big family. (*Chinese Geography (for middle school students)*; 1992-6-1)

- (11). 维护中华民族大家庭的团结, 是每个公民的神圣职责。(《思想政治》(初中三年级全一册); 1992-6-1)

Maintain Chinese ethnic nationalities big family solidarity, be every citizen sacred duty.

To maintain the solidarity of the big family of Chinese ethnic nationalities is the sacred duty of every citizen. (*Ideological and Political Work (for the third year students in middle schools)*; 1992-6-1)

The benefits of using FAMILY as a source domain are found in political issues about the international world as well. Countries in the world are metaphorically regarded as family members to form a bigger international community by activating the INTERNATIONAL WORLD/COMMUNITY IS A FAMILY metaphor in the following examples from the corpus:

- (12). 其视天下犹一家, 中国犹一人焉。(《哲学大纲》; 周辅成; 1947-6-1)

It regard sky down as one family, China as one person.

It regarded the world under the heaven as one family, and China as one person. (*The Syllabus of Philosophy*; Fu cheng Zhou; 1947-6-1)

- (13). 我们是兄弟国家嘛, 就是一家人。(《怒涛》; 骆基; 1957-6-1)

We be brother country, exact be one family people.

We are brother countries, so we are members of one family. (*Raging Waves*; Ji Luo; 1957-6-1)

- (14). “..... 这种吻合超出了双边关系的范围, 反映在国际大家庭的广阔领

域中。” (北京日报; 1979-2-10)

“..... This kind coincidence exceed bilateral relation scope, reflect at international big family wide range in.”

“..... Such coincidence exceeded the scope of bilateral relations, and reflected itself in the wide range of the international big family.”  
(*Beijing Daily*; 1979-2-10)

- (15). 现在, 苏联为了维系它在“大家庭”中的霸主地位, 已不得不把一半以上的出口石油供应经互会国家, ..... (《石油—苏联争霸的工具》; 于棣; 1979-8-1)

At present, the Soviet Union in order to maintain it at “big family” hegemonic position, already have to take one half more exported oil provide CMEA country.....

At present, the Soviet Union had to provide more than half of the exported oil to CMEA countries in order to maintain its hegemonic position in the ‘big family’. ..... (*Oil—The Soviet Union’s Tool to Seek Hegemony*; Di Yu; 1979-8-1)

- (16). ..... , 强调“大家庭每个国家阶级利益的国际化是现今的客观规律”, “大家庭”有责任保卫它们的“社会主义成果”。 (《两大军事集团的对峙》; 1983-6-1)

.....Emphasize “big family every country class interests internationalization be present time objective law”, “big family” have responsibility protect their “socialist achievement”.

..... (It) emphasized that “the internationalization of the class interests of every member state in the big family is the objective law of the present time.” “The big family” had the responsibility to protect their “socialist achievements”. (*The Confrontation of the Two Military Blocs*; 1983-6-1)

In example (12), the whole international world is considered as one family which might express the Chinese interpretation of the remarkable resemblance of the human kingdoms in the world. Brotherhood is specified in example (13) to convey the need of establishing harmonious international relations through mutual trust and help with those countries that are considered metaphorically as family members because brothers are supposed to trust and help each other so as to live harmoniously in the Chinese family. Examples (15) and (16) show that an international community is a big family that can be socialist in nature and have a power structure within itself, so each constituent country as a family member enjoys the shared interests that are guaranteed by the membership, and the dominant country takes the hegemonic position and the responsibility to protect the socialist achievements of other weaker member countries. With the help of the INTERNATIONAL WORLD/COMMUNITY IS A FAMILY metaphor, it is easier to depict and comprehend the interactive, complicated international relations and conflicts in terms of familial relations and conflicts, and the function of every member country in an international community can be clearly outlined according to its family roles in the community family.

Furthermore, five linguistic examples of the SOCIETY IS FAMILY metaphor appear in the corpus, all of which bear an overt imprint of the socialist ideology, so the metaphor is further

elaborated as SOCIALIST SOCIETY IS FAMILY. As linguistic materials in the time period from the 1950s to the 1980s, these examples below might also reveal the major social issue of the country's socialist construction at that time and the features of socialist Chinese society. The big size of the socialist society family is mentioned in every example as a salient feature because a society is sure to be bigger in size with much more members than a normal family. In examples (19), (20) and (21), the warmth of the socialist society family is highlighted as a favorable feature, and the understanding of such a feature is based on the activation of the EFFECT OF EMOTION FOR THE EMOTION metonymy and the AFFECTION IS WARMTH metaphor. The SOCIALIST SOCIETY IS FAMILY metaphor can both reduce the social distance among social members by regarding all of them as members of the same family and imply the need to establish a friendly, helpful and loving human relationship so that all social members can feel the warmth of the socialist society, which may pave the way for achieving social harmony.

- (17). 这就叫社会主义大家庭？（《街道食堂》；张西莲，田陇；1958-11-1）

This then call socialist big family?

Is this called the socialist big family? (*The Dining Hall in the Street*; Xi lian Zhang, Long Tian; 1958-11-1)

- (18). 你呀，就想到自己那个家，就没有想到社会主义大家庭。（《街道食堂》；张西莲，田陇；1958-11-1）

You oh, just think about self that family, then not have think of socialist big family.

You only think about your own family, but you do not think of the socialist big family. (*The Dining Hall in the Street*; Xi lian Zhang, Long Tian; 1958-11-1)

- (19). 这一切，使我们深深感到社会主义大家庭的温暖，……。（《这是我们应尽的责任》；周连珊，张晶元；1960-3-16）

This everything, make we deep feel socialist big family warmth.....

All of these made us feel deeply the warmth of the big socialist family..... (*This Is the Duty We Must Fulfill*; Lian shan Zhou, Jing yuan Zhang; 1960-3-16)

- (20). ……，使广大老年人感到社会主义大家庭的温暖。（《法学通论》；陈春龙，肖贤富；1981-6-1）

……, make wide old people feel socialist big family warmth.

…… (It) made all the senior citizens feel the warmth of the socialist big family. (*General Theories of the Law*; Chun long Chen, Xian fu Xiao; 1981-6-1)

- (21). ……，说明社会主义大家庭的温暖哪。（《歌的故事》；潘贵才，莫宏，禹启政；1989-12-15）

……, show socialist big family warmth.

…… (It) shows the warmth of the socialist big family. (*The Story of the Song*; Gui cai Pan, Hong Mo, Qi zheng Yu; 1989-12-15)

The SOCIAL ORGANIZATION/ASSOCIATION IS A FAMILY metaphor is applied in example (22) to interpret the sophisticated human relations in social interactions. In order to carry out big activities and protect their crucial benefits, entertainers or people with same interests often set up social organizations or associations that are operated and sustained by the members' joint efforts, and a close membership is usually established to unite members and distribute benefits which might lead to the use of the SOCIAL ORGANIZATION/ASSOCIATION IS FAMILY metaphor. Thus, the operation of a social organization or association is understood through the operation of a family where all members get along with each other and enjoy their benefits as family members. What's more, the SOCIAL ORGANIZATION/ASSOCIATION IS A PATRON metaphor also appears in example (22) to emphasize the help, support and protection a social organization or association can provide for its members.

- (22). 所以，有些艺人进了“三庆会”就不想出去了，以会为家，总算找到一座靠山了。（《周慕莲舞台艺术》；周慕莲；1962-12-1）

Therefore, some entertainer enter “Sanqing Association” then not want out go, take association as family, finally find one patron.

Therefore, some entertainers who had once entered into “Sanqing Association” would never go out of it. They regarded the association as their family, and finally found their patron. (*The Stage Arts of Mulian Zhou*; Mu lian Zhou; 1962-12-1)

In addition, various types of social organizations such as the school, the neighborhood, the army, the enterprise, the factory, and even the Olympics can be comprehended as a family in China, which give rise to the creation of the SCHOOL IS FAMILY, THE NEIGHBORHOOD IS FAMILY, THE ARMY IS FAMILY, ENTERPRISE IS FAMILY, FACTORY IS FAMILY and THE OLYMPICS IS FAMILY metaphors that are specifications of the SOCIAL ORGANIZATION/ASSOCIATION IS A FAMILY metaphor used to highlight the structure and the close interpersonal relations within a social organization, as in the corpus linguistic examples below:

- (23). 学校成了他们的家庭，……。（《渔村》；许幸之；1934-3-1）

School become their family……

The school became their family ..... (*The Fishing Village*; Xing zhi Xu; 1934-3-1)

- (24). 布克的归来，成了我们四号院子这个大家庭的一件大喜事。（《布克的奇遇》；萧建亨；1962-9-1）

Boock return, become our four number courtyard this big family one big happy event.

The return of Boock became a big happy event of our big family of No. Four courtyard. (*The Adventure of Boock*; Jian heng Xiao; 1962-9-1)

- (25). “……，为了部队这个大家庭，即使有委屈也要忍受才对。”（解放军报；1980-3-29）

“…… For the sake of army this big family, even have injustice also need tolerate right.”

“……For the sake of the big family of the army, (you) have to tolerate the

pains even you suffer from injustice.” (*People's Liberation Army Daily*; 1980-3-29)

- (26). ....., 共产党就是他的爹娘, 革命队伍就是他的家。 (《海盗》; 胡正言; 1982-5-1)

..... Communist Party exact be his father mother, revolutionary army exact be his family.

.....The Communist Party is his parents, and the revolutionary army is his family. (*Pirates*; Zheng yan Hu; 1982-5-1)

- (27). ..... 作为企业的领导者, 要当好家, ..... (河北日报; 1983-7-11)

..... As enterprise leader, need manage well family, .....

..... As a leader of an enterprise, you should manage the family well..... (*Hebei Daily*; 1983-7-11)

- (28). ....., 我们给这台洗衣机的“娘家”--上海市饮食服务机修厂(原名上海红兵机修厂)写了一封求援信。 (解放日报; 1983-11-24)

..... We give this washing machine “mother family” --Shanghai City Food and Drink Service Machine Repair Factory (original name: Shanghai Red Soldier Machine Repair Factory) write one ask help letter.

..... We wrote a letter to seek help from the “mother family” of the washing machine, which was called Shanghai City Food and Drink Service Machine Repair Factory (original name: Shanghai Red Soldier Machine Repair Factory). (*The Liberation Daily*; 1983-11-24)

- (29). “奥运大家庭”愈来愈热闹。 (新民晚报; 1992-7-23)

“The Olympic Big Family” more and more lively.

“The Olympic Big Family” became more and more lively. (*Xinmin Evening News*; 1992-7-23)

- (30). 截至昨天, 本届奥运会的“奥运大家庭”成员已有一万八千一百九十一人注册登记, 其中, 记者数占一半。 (新民晚报; 1992-7-23)

By the end of yesterday, this Olympic Games “the Olympic Big Family” member already have 18191 people register, among, journalist number occupy one half.

By the end of yesterday, the number of the registered members of “the Olympic Big Family” of the current Olympic Games had already reached 18191, half of whom were journalists. (*Xinmin Evening News*; 1992-7-23)

The application of these metaphors in the corpus may reflect not only the primacy of the family in group-oriented, collective Chinese society but also the influence of the traditional Chinese cultural values that encourage social harmony, group affiliation and devotion to the priority of the collective interests (Eastman 1988; Wu 1990; Chen 2010; Yin 2010). Therefore, the concept of FAMILY is extended metaphorically to conceptualize collective social organizations that are virtually founded upon a large family system (Cheng 1944; Zhou 2011), and cooperation and self-sacrifice for the benefits of a collective group are more required and

morally valued, especially when personal interests are in conflict with the collective interests as in example (25). As a result, personal benefits and self-development are usually confined in a social organization where compromises need to be made to comply with the collective decisions or interests, but a social organization can grant its members the sense of belonging and individual identity that are considered to be very important in Chinese social interactions (Eastman 1988). Moreover, example (26) specifies the Chinese Communist Party as the parents of the army family and example (27) implies that the leader of an enterprise family is the managing parent, but all remaining examples above do not offer any information about the family roles the members may assume in a given social organization, which may indicate that the family is indeed the nexus of social relations in China, and the members of a social organization are expected to deal with each other as family members and behave according to the demands of the Chinese family values in order to achieve harmony in social contacts, even though their family roles in the social organization are not always explicitly expressed.

It is also observed from the corpus that people can be divided into social groups on account of their personal interests or life goals, and people with similar interests or life goals are often metaphorically seen as members of a family. Examples (31) and (32) are linguistic instantiations of the REVOLUTIONARIES ARE FAMILY metaphor, since people with the shared goal to launch a revolution may form a social organization where all members enjoy close, familial relations to live and realize their goal of making a successful revolution together, and the elder revolutionaries would worry about the growth of the younger successors as people of the elder generation would do to their children or grandchildren in the family. In example (33), the GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND BANDITS ARE FAMILY metaphor is applied to emphasize the bureaucratic corruption in the governmental system, and government officials and bandits become family members with shared benefits obtained from exploitation of the civilians. The use of the POLITICIANS ARE FAMILY metaphor in example (34) shows that politicians of different parties may attack each other because of the divergence in their respective political demands but they tend to stop fighting immediately and establish a close relationship as members of a family if mutual interests or benefits are shared.

- (31). 一个家里，长辈人要为晚辈人长大操心，在革命的大家庭里，革命的老一辈一定要为革命的接班人多操心。（《赞接班人周阴山》；梁振海; 1964-5-1)

One family inside, elder generation need for younger generation people grow worry, at revolution big family inside, revolutionary elder generations sure need for revolution successors more worry.

In a family, the elder generations would worry about the growth of the younger generations; while in the big family of revolution, the revolutionary elder generations were sure to worry a lot about the successors. (*Praising The Successor Yinshan Zhou*; Zhen hai Liang; 1964-5-1)

- (32). ....., 我们生活在这个革命大家庭里很满意, .....。（北京日报; 1987-12-26)

..... We live at this revolution big family inside very satisfied.....

..... We are satisfied about living in this big family of revolution.....  
(*Beijing Daily*; 1987-12-26)



- (33). 上告吧，官匪一家；而且官甚于匪。（《管陇散笔》；张漠青；1964-4-1）  
Complained to the higher authorities, government official bandit one family, moreover, government official exceed bandit.  
(Even if they) complained to the higher authorities, it was useless since government officials and bandits were one family. Moreover, government officials were worse than bandits. (*Prose of Guanlong*; Mo qing Zhang; 1964-4-1)
- (34). 在美国，大选政治的一大特点是，政治家们一个星期之前还在相互攻击，几天后就能握手言和，成为一家。（中国青年报；1992-7-20）  
At the United States of America, general election politics one big feature be, politicians one week before still at each other attack, several days after then can shake hand talk peace, become one family.  
In the United States of America, one big feature of its election politics is that politicians were attacking each other a week ago, but shook hands and became families after several days later. (*China Youth Daily*; 1992-7-20)

Both the ORDINARY PEOPLE AND THE ARMY ARE FAMILY metaphor and the ORDINARY PEOPLE AND THE ARMY ARE LIKE FAMILY simile are employed in the corpus to describe the close relation between the common people and army men whose solicitude and emotional attachment to each other are implied in example (35) and clearly shown in examples (36) and (37). Parenthood can even be shared between the common people and army men as in example (38), because they are metaphorically considered as members of the same family. On the other hand, example (39) highlights the mutual love and support in addition to the close human relation between the common people and army men with the application of the ORDINARY PEOPLE AND THE ARMY ARE LIKE FAMILY simile, and the information in example (39) also demonstrates that such familial relation between the common people and army men is not novel in China but a phenomenon reappears with new contents.

- (35). 小梅流着眼泪说：“咱们军民是一家，……？”（《新儿女英雄传》；袁静，孔厥；1956-11-1）  
Xiaomei flow tear say: “We army people be one family…….”  
Xiaomei said in tears: “Our army and the people are one family……?”  
(*New Story of Heroic Sons and Daughters*; Jing Yuan, Jue Kong; 1956-11-1)
- (36). 平时，炮二连的官兵把他俩当作一家人，处处关心他们。（解放军报；1991-4-16）  
In normal times, cannon second company officers soldier take them as one family people, everywhere care for them.  
The officers and soldiers of the second cannon company of the army treated them as members of one family in normal times, and always cared for them. (*People's Liberation Army Daily*; 1991-4-16)
- (37). 人常说：军民一家，心心相印。（《雨中产房》；原建邦；1991-12-15）

People usually say: Army people one family, heart accord with heart.

People usually say: The army and the people are one family, and are closely attached to each other. (*The Delivery Room in the Rain*; Jian bang Yuan; 1991-12-15)

- (38). “咱军民可是一家，我的孩子也是你的孩子，我的媳妇……还是我的媳妇。” (《雨中产房》；原建邦; 1991-12-15)

“We army people be one family, my child also be your child, my wife…… still be my wife.”

“The army and the people are one family. My child is also your child. My wife…… is still my wife.” (*The Delivery Room in the Rain*; Jian bang Yuan; 1991-12-15)

- (39). 几十年前的那种“军拥民，民爱军，军民亲如一家人”的景象，又在中华大地再现，并且赋予了新的内容。(羊城晚报; 1987-7-29)

Dozens of years before that kind “army support people, people love army, army people close like one family people” phenomenon, again at China land reappear, moreover grant new content.

The phenomenon of “The army supported the people; the people loved the army. The army and the people were close to each other as if they were members of one family” in the dozens of years ago reappeared on the land of China and was granted with new contents. (*Yangcheng Evening News*; 1987-7-29)

In fact, the Chinese idiom 亲如一家(qīn rú yì jiā) (close like one family) marks the use of the ORDINARY PEOPLE AND THE ARMY ARE LIKE FAMILY simile in example (39), and it is applied to depict the family-like relation in a social group or organization, so the SOLDIERS ARE LIKE FAMILY and NEIGHBORS ARE LIKE FAMILY similes are found with the marker of 亲如一家(qīn rú yì jiā) in examples (40) and (41), which portray respectively the close relation based on the mutual help among soldiers and the harmonious, peaceful relationship between neighbors.

- (40). 两个军种的战友互帮互助，亲如一家。(解放军报; 1991-4-16)

Two army type soldier friends each other help, close like one family.

The soldiers of the two services helped each other, and their relation was so close as if they were one family. (*People's Liberation Army Daily*; 1991-4-16)

- (41). ……，我们邻里之间，不敢妄说“亲如一家”吧，却也多年相安无事，彼此从没红过脸。(北京晚报; 1985-10-31)

…… We neighbors among, not dare reckless say “close like one family”, but also many years lived in peace with each other, each other never red face.

…… We dared not say the relation between our neighbors was “so close as if we were one family”, but we had lived in peace with each other over the years and hadn't quarreled. (*Beijing Evening News*; 1985-10-31)

What's more, human beings as a species living in nature may have a lot in common despite obvious differences in physical appearance, language and culture, and the MANKIND IS A FAMILY metaphor is used to indicate the similarities and close interpersonal relations human beings in the world are supposed to possess, as shown in the corpus examples below:

- (42). 我们来到世界上，始初确是人地生疏的，但久了，与宇宙相见熟习了，才发现出竟是一家人，则不禁惊喜交集。（《哲学大纲》；周辅成；1947-6-1）

We come arrive world up, at the beginning indeed be people land not familiar, but long time, with the universe meet familiar, then discover out unexpectedly be one family people, then not refrain from surprise happy mix.

When we came to the world, everything was new and strange at first. But after a long time, we are familiar with the universe we meet every day, and then discover that we are one family. As a result, we have developed mixed feelings of surprise and joy. (*The Syllabus of Philosophy*; Fu cheng Zhou; 1947-6-1)

- (43). “在中国，我感觉到兄弟般的情谊，感觉到我是人类大家庭中的一分子。”（《中华人民共和国公民的基本权利和义务》；杨仕南；1955-9-1）

“At China, I feel brother like friendship, feel I be human being big family in one member.”

“In China, I have felt the friendship of brotherhood, and I have sensed that I am a member of the big family of human beings.” (*The Basic Rights and Duties of the Citizens of the People's Republic of China*; Shi nan Yang; 1955-9-1)

In example (43), the human relation is specified as brotherhood, and people in the mankind family can thus feel the close friendship as brothers of the same family. The MANKIND IS A FAMILY metaphor may offer a macroscopic understanding of the mankind through the source domain of FAMILY and effectively emphasize that individual persons are family members with shared similarities and mutual interests, so the differences, divergences and conflicts within the mankind family should not be dramatized, and all human beings as family members are supposed to get along with each other in a friendly, harmonious way in order to maintain the mankind family's stability and solidarity.

In addition, it is discovered that FAMILY as a source domain often appears in corpus materials in connection with political issues, and the cultural values, presuppositions and emotions attached to the family are also mapped into the target domains. As a means of persuasion, metaphor is necessary and important in political communication because it serves as a useful tool to “assist politicians in communicating more effectively by addressing latent symbolic themes residing in segments of the public consciousness” and simplify complicated political issues into “packets of information that can be easily understood by the public” (Mio 1997: 113). Besides, an appropriate metaphor may affect people's views or attitudes towards a political topic so as to justify the courses of action once it is accepted, since metaphor can create social realities and filter off the undesired aspects of life experience by highlighting the

desired ones with entailments (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Read et al. 1990; Mio 1997). Therefore, these metaphors with FAMILY as source domain in the corpus not only enable people to understand the structure and operation of abstract targets through the familiar source domain of FAMILY but also help to realize the intended political goals of achieving social harmony and national stability, since if these FAMILY metaphors are widely accepted by the people concerned, then citizens of a country or members of a social organization become family members who can be persuaded to fulfill expected familial responsibilities and establish a united, harmonious interpersonal relation that can be highlighted by the entailments of FAMILY metaphors.

## 2. HOME as a source domain

Except those examples with FAMILY as source domain, the Modern Chinese Corpus also contains examples in which HOME is used as a source domain to conceptualize abstract concepts, and the general WORKING PLACE IS HOME metaphor has more specifications than other HOME metaphors identified from the corpus, since various working places as concrete target domains lead to the creation of many specific HOME metaphors. For instance, soldiers who defend the borderlands or remote islands often metaphorically regard their guarding places as their home, and the BORDERLAND IS HOME and ISLAND IS HOME metaphors are activated to show the soldiers' loyalty to their duty and their patriotic feelings towards their motherland, as in the following corpus examples:

- (44). 是以岛为家, 保卫祖国的昂扬战斗意志。 (《无名岛上的第一代人》; 杨旭; 1964-5-1)

Be take island as home, protect native country high fight spirit.

It was the high fighting spirit of taking the island as home and protecting the native country. (*The First Generation on the Nameless Island*; Xu Yang; 1964-5-1)

- (45). ..... 战士们回到宿舍, 在营门两旁的墙壁上, 书写了“以岛为家, 以苦为荣”八个大字。 (《第九户人家》; 郑小微; 1964-9-29)

..... soldiers return dormitory, at camp door two sides wall up, write “take island as home, take hardship as honor” eight big character.

..... The soldiers returned to the dormitory, and wrote the eight-character motto of “Take island as home, take hardship as honor” on the wall beside both sides of the camp door. (*The Number Nine Family*; Xiao wei Zheng; 1964-9-29)

- (46). 十二年来, 导航台人员换了七八茬, 以艰苦为荣、以小岛为家的精神代代相传。 (解放军报; 1980-3-29)

12 years come, navigation station staff change seven eight times, take hardship as honor, take small island as home spirit generation to generation pass.

In the past 12 years, the working staff of the navigation station had changed seven or eight times, but the spirit of taking pride in fighting hardship and regarding the small island as their home had been passed

down from generation to generation. (*People's Liberation Army Daily*; 1980-3-29)

- (47). 战士们工作好，生活好，体格壮，以艰苦为荣、以边疆为家蔚然成风。  
(解放军报; 1980-3-29)

Soldier work well, live well, body strong, take hardship as honor, take border areas as home became a common practice.

The soldiers worked well and lived well. They had strong bodies and the notions of taking pride in fighting hardship and regarding the border areas as their home had become a common practice. (*People's Liberation Army Daily*; 1980-3-29)

It is honorable work for those soldiers in these examples to keep the guarded borderlands or remote islands in safety, and regarding their guarded places as their home has become common practice or even a kind of spiritual heritage that has been passed down from one generation to the other in order to encourage soldiers to fulfill their duties.

Moreover, other working places give rise to the emergence of specific HOME metaphors such as RESERVOIR IS HOME, DEPARTMENT OF GYNECOLOGY AND OBSTETRICS IS HOME, DUCK FARM IS HOME, FACTORY IS HOME, FOOD STAND IS HOME and WORKROOM IS HOME as in examples (48) to (53) below, and other metaphors are also activated to further arouse people's deep affection towards their working places. The sandy ground is figuratively considered as a soft bed in example (48), so people can sleep comfortably in the reservoir as they do at home, and ducks become human friends in example (50), so people do not feel lonely when working at the duck farm. HOME is a possessed object in examples (51) and (53), so people can own and cherish it. Given the fact that social organizations in China are often set up upon the family system (Cheng 1944; Eastman 1988; Zhou 2011), and working units in a society are also social organizations in various types, it is not strange to apply the source domain of HOME to refer to the residential places of working units (the working places). The ideology of socialist collectivism may also contribute to the motivation of the WORKING PLACE IS HOME metaphor, which advocates the priority of the collective interests and places high moral values on a person's selfless love and dedication to his or her work. Therefore, the use of the WORKING PLACE IS HOME metaphor and its specifications can help to encourage people to devote themselves to their work and treasure their working places with their heart and soul by cultivating their emotions and responsibilities attached to their homes.

- (48). 他们把水库当成自己的家，而砂地则被他们风趣地比作“松软的床铺”。  
(《春满阳关》；夏伟生; 1960-3-10)

They take water reservoir as self home, and sandy ground then they humorously compare to “soft bed”.

They took the water reservoir as their own home, and the sandy ground was humorously compared to a “soft bed”. (*The Yangguan Pass in Spring*; Wei sheng Xia; 1960-3-10)

- (49). 她把妇产科当做真正的家，…… (《她有多少孩子》；理由; 1979-7-1)

She take gynecology and obstetrics department as real home. ....

She had taken the department of gynecology and obstetrics as her real

home. .... (*How Many Children Does She Have*; You Li; 1979-7-1)

- (50). 他一个心眼扑在养鸭工作上，以场为家，与鸭为“友”。(中国青年报; 1979-10-4)

He one mind dedicate at raise duck work up, took duck farm as home and duck as “friends”.

He was fully dedicated to his job of raising the ducks, and took the duck farm as his home and ducks as his “friends”. (*China Youth Daily*; 1979-10-4)

- (51). 自己是工人，要把工厂当成自己的家，一分一厘要珍惜才行。(北京日报; 1980-5-20)

Self be worker, need take factory as self home, every penny need cherish.

(You) are a worker yourself, so you should take the factory as your own home, and cherish every penny. (*Beijing Daily*; 1980-5-20)

- (52). ...., 现任食品站站长，从来没有向组织申请调动工作，总是随遇而安，以站为家。(河北日报; 1982-12-21)

..... Now food stand leader, at all times not have towards organization apply for change job. Always enjoys adapt oneself to circumstances, takes food station as home.

..... (He) is now the leader of the food stand who has never applied for changing his job. He always adapts himself to circumstances, and takes the food station as his home. (*Hebei Daily*; 1982-12-21)

- (53). 这儿是他的工作室，也是他的“家”。(《绿门》; 刘兴诗; 1986-11-1)

Here be his workroom, also be his “home”.

Here is his workroom, and also his “home”. (*The Green Door*; Xing shi Liu; 1986-11-1)

Similarly, a collective community or political association can also be the target domain of a HOME metaphor, and the COLLECTIVE COMMUNITY IS HOME and THE YOUTH LEAGUE BRANCH IS HOME metaphors are applied in corpus examples (54) and (55) to indicate that the community or association serves as home for members to use and obtain benefits. These HOME metaphors help to maintain the unity among all the members so that they are willing to cooperate and work together for a better future of the community or association. Meanwhile, the collective interests and decisions have the priority to be safeguarded to secure the personal interests of the members.

- (54). 多年来，他养成了这么个习惯：集体就是家，除了集体利益，他不知道还有什么别的利益。(《大寨英雄谱》; 孙谦; 1964-9-1)

Many years come, he develop such habit: collective community exact be home, except collective community interests, he not know still have what other interests.

He had developed a habit over the years: the collective community is home. He did not know any other interests except the interests of the

collective community. (*The Heroes of Dazhai*; Qian Sun; 1964-9-1)

- (55). 团支部要经常不断地开展各项活动, ....., 提高“家”的利用率。 (中国青年报; 1991-2-16)

Youth League branch need often not stop organize various events ....., increase “home” utilization rate.

The Youth League branch should continuously organize various events ....., and increase the utilization rate of the “home”. (*China Youth Daily*; 1991-2-16)

Furthermore, the Modern Chinese Corpus offers two linguistic examples of the SCHOOL IS HOME metaphor and one linguistic example of the CHINA IS HOME metaphor. Both HOME and FAMILY can be the source domains for SCHOOL and COUNTRY/STATE/NATION in Chinese, showing again that the human relations are usually structured upon familial relations. Thus, teachers and classmates in a school become relatives of the same family as in examples (56) and (57), and China is forever the home for the Chinese people travelling abroad in example (58). Besides, the application of the two metaphors in these linguistic examples may imply that the school and China as the home for people to return can also provide emotional attachment, the sense of belonging and protection that are usually entailed in the source domain of HOME.

- (56). 自从哥哥一走, 学校就是我的家, 老师和同学就是我的亲人。 (《家》; 周丹; 1957-9-1)

Since elder brother leave, school exact be my home, teachers and classmates exact be my relatives.

After my elder brother left, the school was my home, and the teachers and classmates were my relatives. (*Home*; Dan Zhou; 1957-9-1)

- (57). 学校是你的家..... (羊城晚报; 1984-12-29)

School be your home.....

School was your home ..... (*Yangcheng Evening News*; 1984-12-29)

- (58). 这才能使海外游子感到中国永远是他们的“家”。 (《国际企业与国际市场》; 马允中; 1987-6-1)

This just can make travelling overseas Chinese feel China forever be their home.

In this way, it can make the travelling overseas Chinese feel that China is forever their “home”. (*International Enterprise and International Market*; Yun zhong Ma; 1987-6-1)

Examples (59) to (62) below all contain a Chinese idiom 四海为家(sì hǎi wéi jiā) that can be translated word by word into English as “four seas as home”, which might trigger the FOUR SEAS ARE HOME metaphor. This idiom comes from the classical Chinese history book *The Book of Han* written almost 2000 years ago and the “four seas” in the idiom refers to the territory of the ancient China rather than real seas in nature. The idiom 四海为家(sì hǎi wéi jiā) was originally used to indicate that the emperor possessed the whole country but

nowadays it means to take any place in the outer world as one's home, and it is used in these corpus examples to praise those people who leave their hometown to strive for their life goals or dedicate themselves to their career at the expense of a stable life, since taking any place in the world as home is equivalent to leading a wandering life without a fixed home. Some people are not so ambitious to explore the outer world or devoted to their jobs, and they may stick to their home even in bad situations as in example (59) where the metaphors of BAD SITUATION IS STORM, HOME IS NEST and PEOPLE ARE BIRDS are also activated to construct the meaning. In example (63), the HEAVEN AND EARTH ARE HOME metaphor is used to express the pitiful, helpless living conditions of the orphan who does not have a home to return and usually sleeps in the open air, so HOME as a source domain is also used for describing lamentable situations.

- (59). ..... 我没有以“四海为家”的放情自豪，徒依依于风雨飘荡下悬挂在老枝上的巢。（《远方辑》；毕基初；1940-3-1）

..... I not have take “four seas as home” let out emotions proud, only rely on wind rain sway down hung at old twig up nest.

..... I do not have the pride to take anywhere as home but only feel reluctant to part with the nest hung on the old twig in the storm. (*In the Distance*; Ji chu Bi; 1940-3-1)

- (60). 只要你愿随我走，四海皆可为家，七八个月后你就做了父亲了。（《新婚之夜》；1941-3-1）

If you willing to follow me walk, four seas as home, seven eight months after you then become father.

If you are willing to follow me, we can make anywhere our home, and after seven or eight months, you would have been a father. (*The Wedding Night*; 1941-3-1)

- (61). 人民解放军，是共产党、毛主席领导的人民子弟兵，在战争的岁月里，南征北战，四海为家。（《第九户人家》；郑小微；1964-9-29）

The People's Liberation Army be the Communist Party, Chairman Mao lead people's army, at war time in, fight north and south, four seas as home.

The People's Liberation Army is the people's army under the leadership of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao. In the war time, they have fought north and south, and made anywhere their home. (*The Number Nine Family*; Xiao wei Zheng; 1964-9-29)

- (62). 海测兵四海为家，风餐露宿，是海浪的忠实伙伴。（解放军日报；1983-10-20）

Ocean survey soldiers four seas as home, wind eat wilderness live, be sea waves loyal partners.

The ocean survey soldiers made the four seas as their home, and were exposed to the cold and wet in the wilderness. They were the loyal partners of the sea waves. (*People's Liberation Army Daily*; 1983-10-20)



- (63). 魏光荣, 这个吃百家饭长大、以天地为家的孤儿, 睡草窝盖蓑衣, .....!  
 (《毛泽东之歌》; 魏钢; 1965-12-12)  
 Guangrong Wei, this eat hundred family dish grow up, take heaven earth as home orphan, sleep grass nest cover straw rain cape.....!  
 Guangrong Wei, an orphan grown up upon the food from hundreds of families at a home of the heaven and the land, slept in the grass nest and covered himself with straw rain cape.....! (*The Song of Zedong Mao*; Gang Wei; 1965-12-12)

In addition to the HOME metaphors, the similes of COOPERATIVE IS LIKE HOME, ISLAND IS LIKE HOME and FACTORY IS LIKE HOME are also discovered in the following corpus examples:

- (64). 我打心眼里佩服你, 对咱社像家一样爱护.....我代表社谢谢你! (《一个晚上》; 村路; 1956-2-1)  
 I from heart inside admired you, treat our cooperative like home the same treasure..... I on behalf of cooperative thank you!  
 I admired you from the bottom of my heart. You treasured the cooperative like your home..... I thanked you on behalf of the cooperative! (*One Night*; Lu Cun; 1956-2-1)
- (65). ..... 若没有象俺老三叔那样的爱社如家的积极分子, 我们的合作社, 能有这个样子吗? (《白浪河上》; 于良志; 1959-6-1)  
 ..... If not have like old Uncle such loved cooperative like home active member, our cooperative, can have this appearance?  
 ..... If there were no active members like old Uncle who loved the cooperative like his home, could our cooperative develop like it is? (*On the White Wave River*; Liang zhi Yu; 1959-6-1)
- (66). 我在农村碰到过很多爱社如家、大公无私的老贫农, ..... (《文学概论》; 李衍柱; 1983-9-1)  
 I at village run into many love cooperative like home, selfless old poor peasants.....  
 I had run into many selfless old poor peasants in the villages who loved the cooperative like their home..... (*An Introduction of Literature*; Yan zhu Li; 1983-9-1)
- (67). 然而, 我们的战士心怀祖国, 爱岛如家, 始终不渝地守卫着这片神圣的领土。 (解放军报; 1986-6-15)  
 However, our soldiers heart think of native country, loved island like home, all the time unswervingly guard sacred territory.  
 However, our soldiers treasured their native country in their hearts, loved the island as their home, and guarded the sacred territory with unswerving loyalty. (*People's Liberation Army Daily*; 1986-6-15)
- (68). ..... 会上大伙表示要坚决洗刷掉那个不体面的绰号, 树立爱厂如家的思想。 (《不眠之夜》; 登坡; 1958-6-1)

..... Meeting up everybody express should firmly washed off that not decent nickname, establish love factory like home notion.

..... On the meeting everybody expressed that that indecent nickname should be firmly washed off, and establish the notion of loving the factory as home. (*Sleepless Nights*; Po Deng; 1958-6-1)

(69). “..... 职工爱厂如家，生产出现了新势头”。(河北日报; 1992-7-7)

“..... Employees love factory like home, production out appear new momentum.”

“..... The employees love the factory like their home, and the production develops new momentum.” (*Hebei Daily*; 1992-7-7)

The application of both similes and metaphors with HOME as source domain may demonstrate the Chinese preference of regarding working places, collective communities or social associations as homes, which is rarely seen in western cultures as observed by Chinese scholars who claim that there is usually a clear line between the public work life and the private family life in most of the western cultures, and family issues are considered as privacy in western world that is not mixed with public issues, even though home is a comfortable and safe place to rest for both English and Chinese speaking people (see Zhou 2011; Ye 2012). As a result, native English speakers usually neither blur the boundary between their work life and family life by using HOME as the source domain to conceptualize their work places or social associations, nor share with the Chinese people the sense of belonging to collective organizations, since individuality is more emphasized and highly valued than collectivism in the mainstream English culture (Zhou 2011). However, the Chinese culture is built upon the concept of FAMILY with kinship and blood-related geo-relations utilized metaphorically to understand interpersonal relations and norms of decent behaviors in the family-centered, collective society, and all social organizations are also more or less based on the family system (Cheng 1944; Qian 1994; Tan 1999). Therefore, the Chinese social and political lives are closely related with family life, and the wide application of FAMILY metaphors and HOME metaphors in the corpus can reflect such distinct social and cultural characteristics.

### **3. The COUNTRY/NATION/STATE AS FAMILY metaphor in Chinese, American and Hungarian political discourse**

As proved by earlier Chinese studies and research findings from the Modern Chinese Corpus, the concept of COUNTRY/NATION/STATE is conventionally conceptualized through the source domain of FAMILY in Chinese because the early Chinese political system evolved from the patriarchal clan system and the ties of kinship, and the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor is both lexicalized in the Chinese compound 国家(guó jiā) and linguistically manifested in the corpus examples without 国家(guó jiā). However, COUNTRY/NATION/STATE as one of the most basic abstract concepts in the realm of politics is usually mentioned and discussed in political discourse, and academic studies on political discourse often put the major focus on the text and talk of professional politicians or political institutions (Dijk 1997). For the sake of simplicity, political discourse can be understood as “the institutionally bound text and talk of politicians, who are being paid for their political activities, and are being

elected or appointed (or self-designated) as the central players in the polity” (Dijk 1997: 13). Political discourse not only “accomplishes a political act in a political institution, such as governing, legislation, electoral campaigning, and so on” (Dijk 2002: 20) but also offers authentic linguistic data to reveal the salience of a particular metaphor and the important role metaphor can play in political rhetoric.

Politics always involves discourse soaked with abstract political concepts and sophisticated socio-cultural values, worldviews or ideologies that are largely understood through metaphors, and metaphors may also deeply influence how people think of and reason about the abstract targets concerned because the choice of the source domain can affect how the target domain is represented (Semino 2008). Thus, a particular political issue can be structured in a certain way to serve political goals through the choice of a specific metaphor and display the dominant political views with the application of a chosen metaphor. Moreover, metaphors can persuade, interpret, reason, evaluate, theorize or even provide new conceptualizations of reality in political discourse, and persuasion as a central rhetorical goal in much political action is achieved mainly through linguistic metaphorical expressions (Semino 2008). So, the exploration of prominent politicians’ utterances may uncover distinctive rhetorical strategies and individual preference of linguistic patterns with the choice of certain particular metaphorical expressions that may in turn exert great effect on public opinions and the subsequent usage of the metaphors involved (see Charteris-Black 2005; Semino 2008).

In addition, research on the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor in political discourse may verify the claims of Lakoff (1996) concerning the usage of the metaphor and the family-based moralities in America that can be classified as the Strict Father model and the Nurturant Parent model. Self-control, self-discipline and obedience to authority are emphasized by the Strict Father model, so the leadership in this model assumes its indisputable power of protecting its subjects from a harsh and dangerous world; while individual happiness and fulfillment, empathy for others and providing help for those in need are emphasized by the Nurturant Parent model, so in this model citizens should have free choices and develop the ability to take responsibility of themselves and the fate of the country (Lakoff 1996; A’Beckett 2012). Linguistic data from political discourse can reveal the adoption of Lakoff’s family models in politics. What’s more, culture as an important contextual factor may also affect people’s metaphorical thinking in political discourse because people experience the world in such a way that “culture is already present in the very experience itself” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 57), and “the cultural basis of metaphor consists in its interpretative function, thus viewing certain parts of the body or certain aspects of bodily experience as especially salient and meaningful in the understanding of certain abstract concepts. In other words, culture plays a crucial role in linking embodied experiences with subjective experiences for metaphorical mappings. The choice of one aspect from a range of possible bodily experience as a source domain for a target concept is a matter of cultural preference.” (Yu 2008a: 257) Therefore, it is feasible to conduct a comparative study on the application of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor in the text speeches of the Chinese premier, American presidents and Hungarian prime ministers who were in power around the same period of time, with the aim of discovering the metaphor’s major function in political discourse and the cultural effects on people’s metaphorical conceptualizations of COUNTRY/STATE/NATION in three languages<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>11</sup> In the present comparative study across three languages, a large portion of the research discoveries and data analyses

### 3.1 Research corpora and research procedures

It is believed that authentic, empirical discourse data are needed to convincingly demonstrate the dominance or representativeness of a given metaphor in political discourse (Musolff 2004), and a corpus-based research can complement the shortcomings of individual inspections on idiomatic phrases containing metaphors by providing ample, empirical evidence to support conclusions about metaphorical thinking with documented data of metaphor use. However, no authoritative readily-made corpora of political discourse exist in the target languages, so three relatively comparable linguistic corpora are created manually for research. The Chinese self-made corpus consists of the previous government's annual work reports from the year 2004 when it came to power until the year of 2012<sup>12</sup>. With about 175 thousand Chinese characters, these political work reports in a nine-year span were made by Premier of the State Council Wen Jiabao to summarize the government's work in the previous year and bring forward the tasks for the coming year. Having close to 54 thousand words, the American political discourse corpus includes State of the Union Addresses from the year 2004 to 2012<sup>13</sup> which were delivered by both the Republican president Bush and the Democratic president Obama and can be considered as annual government work reports with a summary of the previous year and the tasks for the next year. The Hungarian corpus contains around 710 thousand characters and covers annual summary speeches given by prime ministers at the beginning of each February from the year 1999 to 2010<sup>14</sup>, in which the government's achievements, future goals and important current issues were mentioned (Kou and Farkas 2014).

The text of annual government work reports or speeches in three political discourse corpora has been carefully read through and examined closely, and all instances with references to the country/state/nation (including its form, name, territory and residents), the government and the workings or characteristics of the country/state/nation are noted to identify metaphors with COUNTRY/STATE/NATION as the target domain by adhering to the "metaphor identification procedure" (MIP) (Pragglejaz Group 2007). Occurrences of the words referring to the concept of COUNTRY/STATE/NATION are classified as metaphorical if incongruity or semantic tension resulting from a shift in domain use of the lexemes is observed (Kou and Farkas 2014). The source domain of FAMILY is the research focus, so the frequency of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor is counted and recorded into diagrams for comparative analyses, followed by linguistic examples with word-by-word and normal English translation for easier understanding. Other source domains for the concept of COUNTRY/STATE/NATION are also sorted out with their frequency calculated to discuss the similarities and differences in the metaphorical comprehension of COUNTRY/STATE/NATION, and special attention is paid to the exploration of the salience and function of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor as well as the influence of cultural effects on varied choices of source domains to conceptualize COUNTRY/STATE/NATION in Chinese, American and Hungarian political discourse.

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comes from the joint research of Kou and Farkas (2014), and the linguistic data, theoretical discussions and research results of Hungarian political discourse are mainly quoted from the joint research paper and the findings of Orsolya Farkas (2012, 2014, 2017).

<sup>12</sup> All Chinese data are obtained from the official Chinese government website: [www.gov.cn](http://www.gov.cn).

<sup>13</sup> All linguistic data of American political discourse are accessible from major official English news websites such as [www.washingtonpost.com](http://www.washingtonpost.com), [www.forbes.com](http://www.forbes.com), and [www.cnn.com](http://www.cnn.com).

<sup>14</sup> All Hungarian linguistic data come from the concerned Hungarian prime minister's personal websites.

### 3.2 Research findings and comparative discussions

As previously mentioned in chapter five, the concept of COUNTRY/STATE/NATION in modern Mandarin Chinese is often expressed linguistically by the commonly used compound 国家(guó jiā) (country-family) which naturally becomes the key research word in Chinese political discourse corpus, and the formation and the meaning of this compound indicate the conventionality and lexicalization of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor in the Chinese language. However, no counterpart words containing the same metaphor can be found in English and Hungarian languages, though both American and Hungarian political discourse corpora display a range of metaphorical conceptualizations of COUNTRY/STATE/NATION. All source domains used to figuratively understand the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION concept in the corpora are discussed with the consideration of cultural effects because conceptual metaphors emerge from the interaction between body and culture as cognitive linguistics has maintained, and “while metaphorical mappings are largely grounded in bodily experience, the choice of one from many possible options in the large pool of bodily experiences depends largely on cultural understanding and interpretation” (Yu 2008a: 259). Besides, political discourse as part of social practice is permeated with cultural routines, values, beliefs and ideologies, and those source domains for making sense of COUNTRY/STATE/NATION in each political discourse corpus not only reflect respective cultural characteristics but also affect how people expect what a country/state/nation should do and should not do as well as how they react to certain policies or political measure that may affect their lives (Kou and Farkas 2014). The analyses start from the discoveries about the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor which is the focus of the present corpus research.

#### 3.2.1 FAMILY as the source domain to conceptualize COUNTRY/STATE/NATION

In addition to the discovery that the application of the compound 国家(guó jiā) may activate unconsciously the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor, the research results from the Modern Chinese Corpus have also shown that the country/state/nation is indeed understood as a big family where all citizens are metaphorically seen as family members. Therefore, it is not surprising to discover the dominant position of 国家(guó jiā) in the number of linguistic instantiations of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor in Chinese political discourse corpus. As a compound to express verbally the concept of COUNTRY/STATE/NATION in Chinese, 国家(guó jiā) appears 248 times in total in the Chinese annual government work reports from 2004 to 2012, but the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor is also manifested linguistically 76 times without the use of 国家(guó jiā) as in the following Chinese examples:

- ①. 要让少数民族和民族地区各族群众充分感受到祖国大家庭的温暖。  
(2010)

Must let minority groups and Ethnic Areas all ethnic groups people sufficiently feel native country big family warmth.

(We) must let the minority groups and the people of all ethnic groups in the Ethnic Areas feel sufficiently the warmth of the big family of the native country. (2010)

- ②. 依法保障台湾**同胞**正当权益，竭诚为台湾**同胞**服务。(2006)  
According to law guarantee Taiwan people born of the same parents legitimate interests, heart and soul for Taiwan people born of the same parents serve.  
Guarantee the legitimate interests of the compatriots in Taiwan, and serve them with heart and soul. (2006)
- ③. 维护海外**侨胞**和归侨侨眷合法权益，支持他们积极参与祖国现代化建设与和平统一大业。(2012)  
Defend overseas people born of the same parents and returned overseas Chinese relatives legal right and interests, support them actively join native country modernization construction and peaceful reunification great course.  
Defend the legal right and interests of our countrymen residing abroad, the returned overseas Chinese and their relatives, and support them to join actively into the great course of the modernization construction and peaceful reunification of the native country. (2012)
- ④. 全体中华**儿女**要更加紧密地团结起来，为完成祖国统一大业、实现中华民族伟大复兴而努力奋斗！(2012)  
All China's sons and daughters need more closely unite, for fulfill native country reunification great course, realize Chinese nation great rejuvenation hard work!  
All Chinese people need to unite more closely, and work hard to fulfill the great course of the native country's reunification and realize the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. (2012)

Both the target domain COUNTRY/STATE/NATION and the source domain FAMILY show up in example ① where the key research word 国家(guó jiā) does not appear and the two character word 祖国(zǔ guó) means “the native country”. With the activation of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor, familial emotions and relations among family members are mapped into the target domain COUNTRY/STATE/NATION, so members of a country/state/nation become family members and the love and affection of family members are understood as warmth through the RESULT FOR CAUSE metonymy. Such instantiation of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor only appears one time in Chinese political discourse corpus.

Examples ②, ③ and ④ deal with the country's reunification and development, in which the words 同胞(tóng bāo), 侨胞(qiáo bāo) and 中华儿女(zhōng huá ér nǚ) may mark the application of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor. 同胞(tóng bāo) appears 48 times and has the original meaning of “people born by the same parents” in Chinese but it means “the fellow countrymen in Taiwan” in example ②, since all residents of the country become family members born by the same parents through the metaphorical understanding of the country as a family. Sharing the meaning with 同胞(tóng bāo), 侨胞(qiáo bāo) is used 18 times in total to refer to members of the country who live abroad. Both 同胞(tóng bāo) and 侨胞(qiáo bāo) are present in every Chinese government work report under examination, but the word 中华儿女(zhōng huá ér nǚ) only shows up one time which literally means “China's sons and daughters” but refers to “the Chinese people” in example ④. Compared with the

frequent use of 国家(guó jiā), linguistic manifestations of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor with 同胞(tóng bāo), 侨胞(qiáo bāo) and 中华儿女(zhōng huá ér nǚ) show up less frequently in Chinese political discourse corpus.

By contrast, the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor occurs much fewer times with only two linguistic examples detected respectively in American and Hungarian political discourse corpora, and neither important aspects of family life nor types of family relations can be observed from these four examples below. The source domain FAMILY is clearly stated out in American examples ⑤ and ⑥ but not in Hungarian examples ⑦ and ⑧ (Kou and Farkas 2014: 110). It is noticed that linguistic manifestations of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor only appeared in the Democratic president Obama's State of the Union Address in the year 2011 with a purpose of calling for ethnic unity and social stability in the country, whereas the Republican president Bush's speeches did not have linguistic expressions of the metaphor at all.

⑤. We are part of the American **family**. (President Obama's State of the Union Address, 2011)

⑥. And as extremists try to inspire acts of violence within our borders, we are responding with the strength of our communities, with respect for the rule of law, and with the conviction that American Muslims are a part of our American **family**. (President Obama's State of the Union Address, 2011)

⑦. *a szülők kis vonással jelzik az ajtófélfán, mennyit nőtt, gyarapodott gyermekük*  
The parents mark the door post to see how much their children grew.

⑧. *úgy van ez, mint otthon: ha a jövedelmünkből többet költünk, mint amennyi van, a hónap végén a szomszédba szaladunk, vagy szalajtuk a gyereket kölcsönkérni*  
It is just like at home: if we spend more from our income than what we have, we go to our neighbor or send the kid over for some loan at the end of the month.

The corpus findings about the linguistic examples of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor have so far supported Lakoff's (1996) claim about the commonness of the metaphor and proved the metaphor's presence in Chinese, American and Hungarian political discourse. However, it is hard to make generalizations about the adoption of Lakoff's (1996) family models in politics because the linguistic manifestations of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor discussed above neither make it clear what family roles the country/state/nation may hold nor show much evidence of family relations or relevant aspects of family life to clearly support the dominance of either family model in three political discourse corpora. Lexicalized into the compound 国家(guó jiā), the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor in Chinese political discourse corpus is linguistically instantiated mainly by the compound that is frequently used to refer to the concept of COUNTRY/STATE/NATION in Chinese. It is undoubtedly impossible to draw any conclusion about the family model in Chinese political rhetoric from the application of 国家(guó jiā) alone, and other Chinese

linguistic instantiations of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor without 国家(guó jiā) only clarify the family members of the country. In Chinese examples ② and ③, the central government of China assumes the roles of a supporter and a service provider whose features might be associated with the Nurturant Parent model of morality.

Furthermore, American and Hungarian examples of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor also offer no elaboration about the traits of Lakoff's family models except the indication about the family members of the country. However, the linguistic data in American political discourse corpus may partially prove Lakoff's (1996) assumption that the Republicans usually take on the Strict Father model while the Democrats represent the Nurturant Parent model, since it is the Republican president Bush who directly brings up the topic of morality more times in his speeches and talks more about responsibility, commitment, test, guidance, character, strength, protection, independence and punishment that can reveal the adoption of the Strict Father model whereas the Democratic president Obama's State of Union Addresses do not display clear evidence about the dominance of either model. Besides, Bush also frequently mentions the value of compassion and help that can be connected with the Nurturant Parent model, which may verify Lakoff's (1996) claim that a person can have both family models in his or her conceptual system without a clear cut between the two models.

It is also possible to observe from Hungarian political discourse corpus that the difference between the Hungarian conservative and social-liberal parties "is not so much between the preference of either family model within the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor, but more about the state or the nation's relation to larger entities (for example, the European Union) - which could be considered as the EUROPEAN UNION AS FAMILY concept", and the Hungarian conservative party emphasizes "the independence and self-ability of Hungary within Europe, while the social-liberal party stresses dependence" (Kou and Farkas 2014: 111). But those Hungarian government work reports under investigation do not show a distinct presence of the EUROPEAN UNION AS FAMILY metaphor, and "the distinction lies in the kind of person (or building, vehicle, etc., for that matter) the state is conceptualized in, and the attributes most often referred to" (Kou and Farkas 2014: 127). Despite the difficulty in judging which Lakoff's family models is dominantly utilized from these linguistic manifestations of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor, the crucial functions of the metaphor in politics can be detected from the three countries' yearly government work reports. The metaphor "underscores the natural and unquestionable attitude of citizens to the fatherland or mother country and entails fraternal relations between citizens and parental responsibilities of the state" (Kou and Farkas 2014: 109), so the intended political goals of kindling a flame of patriotism and arousing people's sympathetic response to the political issues about national unity and stability can be achieved through the application of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor.

### **3.2.2 HOME/HOMELAND as the source domain to conceptualize COUNTRY/STATE/ NATION**

The linguistic data in the Modern Chinese Corpus have confirmed the presence of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS HOME metaphor in Chinese, and the native country is regarded metaphorically as home. However, no linguistic examples of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS HOME/HOMELAND metaphor can be identified from Chinese political discourse corpus, which may reveal that HOME/HOMELAND is not a favorable source domain for the Chinese Premier



of the State Council to conceptualize COUNTRY/STATE/NATION in his annual government work reports. On the contrary, much more linguistic instances of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS HOME/HOMELAND metaphor appear in American political discourse corpus as shown in table 31, with several linguistic examples from the corpus listed below:

Table 31: Occurrences of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS HOME/HOMELAND metaphor in American political discourse corpus

Source domain	President Bush					President Obama				Total
	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	
Home	1	4	3	0	5	0	5	4	9	31
Homeland	4	2	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	10

- ⑨. A temporary worker programme will help protect our **homeland**, allowing border patrol and law enforcement to focus on true threats to our national security. (President Bush's State of the Union Address, 2004)
- ⑩. Police and firefighters, air marshals, researchers and so many others are working every day to make our **homeland** safer, and we thank them all. (President Bush's State of the Union Address, 2005)
- ⑪. The road of victory is the road that will take our troops **home**. (President Bush's State of the Union Address, 2006)
- ⑫. Taken together, this means more than 20,000 of our troops are coming **home**. (President Bush's State of the Union Address, 2008)
- ⑬. We've made substantial investments in our **homeland** security and disrupted plots that threatened to take American lives. (President Obama's State of the Union Address, 2010)
- ⑭. To help businesses sell more products abroad, we set a goal of doubling our exports by 2014 – because the more we export, the more jobs we create at **home**. (President Obama's State of the Union Address, 2011)
- ⑮. A few weeks ago, the CEO of Master Lock told me that it now makes business sense for him to bring jobs back **home**. (President Obama's State of the Union Address, 2012)

Both Republican president Bush and Democratic president Obama employ the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS HOME/HOMELAND metaphor to express their political concerns about national security and domestic economic development. There is no obvious preference concerning the metaphorical use of HOME or HOMELAND in Bush's speeches but Obama shows a preference of using HOME more frequently as the source domain to conceptualize the United States, and HOMELAND as source domain is only applied one time in his speeches.

Contextual factors may underlie Obama's personal preference over the source domain HOME and Bush's choice of using both HOME and HOMELAND as source domains in political

speeches. During Bush's administration, the war in Iraq was one of the major political issues for the American central government, and a larger section of the State of the Union Address each year was also dedicated to discussions about the Iraq war. People would fight for the safety of their homeland, so the source domain of HOMELAND was used to persuade the public that the war was justified in protecting the national security of the United States from threats of terrorism and the nuclear weapons in Iraq, as people normally did to safeguard their homeland in danger. HOME as the source domain appeared in Bush's speech when he talked about international affairs or expressed his opinions about domestic issues such as economic development, energy consumption and new situations in domestic job market, and he also used the source domain HOME more frequently at the end of his administration to assure his people that the American troops in Iraq were coming back to the United States with victories claimed to be achieved and the Iraq war was close to the end.

However, Obama came to power when the country was still suffering from the blow of the financial crisis starting from the year 2008, with the economy in a recession and a higher level of unemployment. Responding to such critical social situation in the United States, the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS HOME metaphor was employed many times to attract the public's attention on the major tasks of developing domestic job market and promoting innovation within the country. Besides, the Iraq war was no longer the work focus of the government, so HOMELAND was not used as the source domain so often in Obama's speeches. All American troops were back to the United States and returned home after the Iraq war was over, which could be another reason for more applications of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS HOME metaphor in his 2011 and 2012 speeches. The general social, economic background and particular political purposes can thus serve as contextual factors to affect politicians' individual choices or preferences over certain source domains in political discourse.

Similarly, the Hungarian word *haza* (homeland) is used nowadays (and by right-wing politicians) more frequently than before to refer to the country/state/nation as indicated by table 32 below, and the difference is that it is not strictly hometown, rather homeland, or just home as in example ⑩ (Kou and Farkas 2014: 111). The emotional attachment and the responsibility to protect one's home or homeland are usually entailed in the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS HOME/HOMELAND metaphor and utilized to realize the intended political purposes.

- ⑩ *Haza megyek*  
I'm going home.

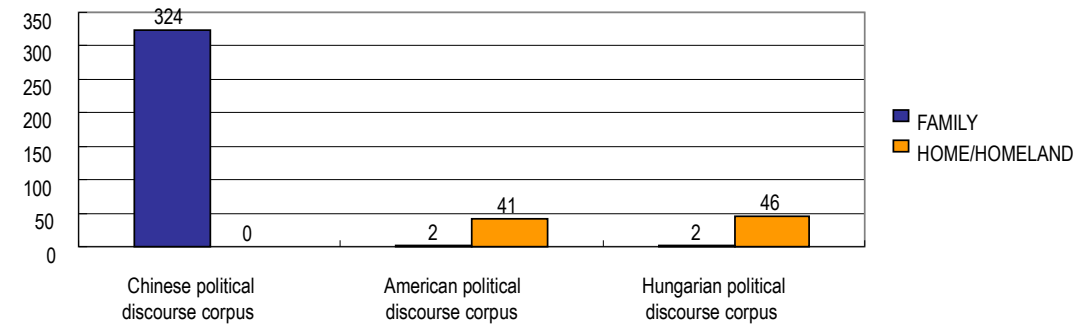
Table 32: Occurrences of the word *haza* 'homeland' in reference to the state in Hungarian political discourse

	Left-wing	Right-wing	Total number
In yearly political speeches of prime ministers	6	35	41
In the constitutions of 1989 and 2012	0	5	5

Given the sharp difference in occurrence frequency of the source domains of FAMILY and HOME/HOMELAND in three political discourse corpora demonstrated by the following table 33, it is clear that FAMILY is the more preferred source domain with a much higher frequency in Chinese political discourse corpus than in American and Hungarian political discourse corpora, but FAMILY is not so widely used by American and Hungarian political leaders to

conceptualize COUNTRY/STATE/NATION, even though FAMILY is usually considered as a familiar, basic source domain in everyday human experience. Instead of FAMILY, HOME or HOMELAND is the more preferred source domain with more occurrences in American and Hungarian political discourse corpora that yield the same number of linguistic instantiations of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor and similar number of linguistic examples of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS HOME/HOMELAND metaphor, revealing the similarities shared by American and Hungarian leaders in their choices of source domains for COUNTRY/STATE/NATION in their political speeches. Contrary to American and Hungarian political leaders’ preference for HOME or HOMELAND, the Chinese leader does not talk about the country/state/nation through the source domain of HOME or HOMELAND at all.

Table 33: The distribution of the metaphors with FAMILY and HOME/HOMELAND as source domains in three political discourse corpora



Culture as an important contextual factor may affect a political leader’s preference for a particular source domain to metaphorically conceptualize COUNTRY/STATE/NATION in political discourse. The high frequency of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor in Chinese political discourse corpus is partly due to the lexicalization of the metaphor in the common compound 国家(guó jiā) (country-family) that appears in 76.5% of all linguistic examples of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor in the Chinese government work reports. The lexicalization of the metaphor derives from the integration of the concepts of FAMILY and COUNTRY/STATE/NATION because of the shared structure between a country/state/nation and a family in early Chinese political system. The metaphor’s high corpus frequency also shows an overt preference of understanding COUNTRY/STATE/NATION as a family, which reflects the centrality of the family in the Chinese culture and society where traditional family values are usually considered as key Chinese cultural values under the influence of Confucianism that supports the feudal belief of the divine right of kings or emperors and strengthens the central status of the family by establishing a hierarchical social system upon a hierarchical family system.

However, the lexicalization of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor in language, the influence of Confucianism and the integration of the concepts of FAMILY and COUNTRY/STATE/NATION in early political system are not shared cultural characteristics and traditions in the United States and Hungary. Considered as the new world a few centuries ago, the United States does not have a long history of feudal monarchy with the family enjoying the central status in people’s social and political life, and American political system does not develop from the hierarchical family system shaped by Confucianism. Therefore, FAMILY is a much less preferred source domain to conceptualize the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION concept in American political discourse corpus, though the morality features of Lakoff’s (1996) two

family models can be observed in political reasoning. Despite the fact that Hungary “had kings and monarchs as the head of the country for most of its millennial existence, many of these rulers were outsiders, not Hungarians in the prototypical sense of the word, and the history of the country is dotted with revolts against tyranny experienced at their hands” (Kou and Farkas 2014: 123). It seems that the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor is brought by decades of communism but the metaphorical mapping of regarding the Soviet Union as the “big brother” does not survive the fall of the communist system in the country, except for in occasional jokes (Kou and Farkas 2014). Compared with FAMILY, HOME or HOMELAND is the shared, more culturally preferred source domain in terms of its higher occurrence frequency in American and Hungarian political discourse corpora.

### 3.2.3 Other source domains applied to conceptualize COUNTRY/STATE/NATION

Except source domains of FAMILY and HOME/HOMELAND, other source domains for COUNTRY/STATE/NATION are also detected in three political discourse corpora, showing that various source domains might be adopted to understand a given abstract concept. Moreover, the similarities in the metaphorical conceptualizations of COUNTRY/STATE/NATION across three languages mainly root in embodiment or everyday bodily experience whereas the variation of metaphors of COUNTRY/STATE/NATION in the corpora may reveal how different social and cultural contexts shape different preferences for certain source domains to conceptualize COUNTRY/STATE/NATION. The major source domains identified from the corpora are compared and discussed in brief as follows:

#### I. Person

Personification of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION concept prevails in three political discourse corpora, as proved by the discovery that the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION IS A PERSON metaphor enjoys the highest frequency in American and Hungarian political discourse corpora with 312 American examples and 328 Hungarian examples identified respectively, and the metaphor ranks the second in the number of appearance in Chinese political discourse corpus with 135 linguistic examples. A country/state/nation becomes a person capable of performing a variety of human behaviors with various human attributes through personification. However, no linguistic examples with human body parts as source domains are found in Chinese and American political discourse corpora. Only two Hungarian examples are identified with the feet and human body as source domains respectively, but one example lays emphasis on “standing firm” and “individual strength and ability to move in a metaphorical sense” (Kou and Farkas 2014: 117) rather than on the body part (feet) itself while the other example puts stress upon whether the human body is alive or dead. Thus, the theory of “body politic” (Musolff 2012) is unlikely to be supported by present corpus findings but the exploration of those human attributes or behaviors bestowed metaphorically on the country/state/nation may reveal the morality characteristics of Lakoff's family models in Chinese and Hungarian political discourse corpora<sup>15</sup>.

It is discovered that no linguistic evidence of absolute obedience for the authority or strict infliction of punishment on disobedient citizens is found in the Chinese yearly government reports, and human actions to control and manipulate also rarely occur. The

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<sup>15</sup> Refer to Kou and Farkas (2014: 110-114) for Chinese and Hungarian linguistic examples of the COUNTRY/STATE/ NATION IS A PERSON metaphor in the corpora.

country/state/nation behaves more frequently as a person to encourage, cooperate, support or take care of others, indicating that the country/state/nation takes on a supporting, nurturant role that is in fact played by the ruling central government in reality. Contradicting with Lakoff's (1996) intuitive assumption of a Strict Father model in Chinese politics, more morality features of the Nurturant Parent model than those of the Strict Father model are visible in Chinese political discourse corpus. On the other hand, the country/state/nation in Hungarian conservative speeches is depicted as independent, strong, authoritative, responsible and controlling which are primarily morality traits of the Strict Father model, but at the same time, the country/state/nation is showing features of the Nurturant Parent model as being helpful and caring, providing opportunities and honoring the agency of the governed (Kou and Farkas 2014). The adoption of the Nurturant Parent model is clearly observed in the speeches of president Medgyessy from the social-liberal party but this model is criticized openly by subsequent administrations with the claim that the Hungarian state cannot continue as a nurturer (Kou and Farkas 2014). Therefore, neither of Lakoff's family models is dominant in Hungarian political discourse corpus, and the country/state/nation as a person can simultaneously take on the Strict Father and Nurturant Parent roles in Hungarian political speeches of both conservative and social-liberal parties.

## **II. Building**

Another shared source domain in three political corpora is BUILDING, and the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION IS A BUILDING metaphor is one of the most common metaphors in the corpora. The metaphor is often triggered by the application of verbal markers such as “build”, “rebuild”, “construct” and “establish” in Chinese, and it is used by the Chinese leader two to five times each year to declare the important tasks of the government, such as the construction of infrastructure, the medical service system and other projects or policies which can be understood as the construction of constituent parts of the country/state/nation building. The COUNTRY/STATE/NATION IS A BUILDING metaphor occurs 20 times in American political discourse corpus, and president Obama has made use of this metaphor more times than Bush to express the government's strong will and concrete measures to rejuvenate the country and revitalize the economy which become the most important political issues in his speeches in the context of fighting against the destructive impact of the global financial crisis. But Bush has used this metaphor to convey one of the achievements of the war — to help people in the war areas to build up a new, democratic nation, since the Iraq war was the most important political issue during his administration. In Hungarian political discourse corpus, the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION IS A BUILDING metaphor appears both with the verb “build” and specifications of the building type such as family house and floodplain cottage to convey the meaning of building up a better, stronger country (Kou and Farkas 2014)<sup>16</sup>.

## **III. Container**

Identified mainly through the application of the words such as “in”, “into”, “inside”, “out” and “enter”, the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION IS A CONTAINER metaphor is a shared common metaphor frequently used by Chinese and American leaders in their political speeches, with 116 linguistic examples found in Chinese political discourse corpus and 158 linguistic examples discovered in American political discourse corpus. Moreover, occasionally

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<sup>16</sup> Refer to Kou and Farkas (2014: 120-121) for linguistic examples of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION IS A BUILDING metaphor in Hungarian political discourse corpus.

elaborated as a new market or a safe haven by American leaders, the country/state/nation is primarily described by Hungarian leaders as a specific vehicle of various types such as car, bus, train, ship and rocket, and the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION IS A VEHICLE metaphor is highly common in Hungarian political discourse corpus where the right-wing politicians even make reference to the working condition of the machine of the vehicle while the left-wing politicians focus more on the general theme of getting somewhere without clear elaborations about the means or conditions (Kou and Farkas 2014)<sup>17</sup>. A vehicle can be seen as a container that is able to move, and it is an easily accessible concrete domain with the knowledge about modern transportation tools acquired from bodily experience. The absence of the linguistic examples of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION IS A VEHICLE metaphor in Chinese and American political discourse corpora shows that political leaders of both countries do not prefer to understand COUNTRY/STATE/NATION through the source domain of VEHICLE, even though they may share their experience concerning various kinds of vehicles as common transportation means in modern life.

#### IV. Plant

The COUNTRY/STATE/NATION IS A PLANT metaphor is present in all three languages, and a country/state/nation can thus grow, develop, prosper, decline or even wither away as a natural plant. The institutional sectors of a country/state/nation may repeat the same life cycle of a plant through metaphorical mappings. The COUNTRY/STATE/NATION IS A PLANT metaphor appears 44 and 9 times respectively in Chinese and American political discourse corpora, but it does not occur in Hungarian political discourse corpus. American presidents apply the metaphor only one time in each State of the Union Addresses to talk about the country's prosperity, and only two phases in the life circle of the country/state/nation plant are highlighted in Chinese political discourse corpus: the growth and the prosperity, which are expressed by the Chinese metaphor markers of 发展(fā zhǎn) (grow; develop) and 繁荣(fán róng) (thrive; flourish). China was described as a developing country in the annual government work reports from the year 2004 to 2012, so national development and prosperity was one of the major tasks for the government to achieve, which may explain the frequent appearance of the metaphor.

#### V. Object

The COUNTRY/STATE/NATION IS AN OBJECT metaphor is a commonly used general metaphor in American political discourse corpus with a high frequency of 162 occurrences, 83 of which regard the country/state/nation as a possessed object, and elaborations of the country/state/nation as a physical entity such as a beacon, a light, a target, etc. also show up in the corpus. The metaphor appears less frequently with one or two linguistic examples in almost every Chinese government work report from the year 2004 to 2012, in which the country/state/nation was often seen as a whole object that could be divided, unified, stabilized and influenced, without any specifications about the type of the country/state/nation object. No linguistic examples of the metaphor are found in Hungarian political discourse corpus because Hungarians tend to be specific and avoid vagueness in their metaphorical conceptualizations of COUNTRY/STATE/NATION (Kou and Farkas 2014).

The absence of elaborations about the type of the country/state/nation object and the

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<sup>17</sup> Hungarian linguistic examples of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION IS A VEHICLE metaphor can be found in Kou and Farkas (2014: 121-122).

tendency of applying general metaphors in Chinese political discourse corpus might be partially explained by the features of the Chinese language and the Chinese way of thinking. As noted by Chinese scholars, Chinese is not an inflective language like English and Hungarian but a language with parataxis as its organizational characteristic (Chen 1999; Sun 2006). The Chinese language lacks specific linguistic forms to mark the grammatical, semantic or logical relations of the constituent parts of a sentence because all these relations are embedded in linguistic expressions without explicit linguistic markers. As a result, the meaning of a Chinese sentence can be implicit and highly context dependent, and ellipsis and vagueness in reference are not rare in verbal communication. Besides, the holistic Chinese way of thinking also supports a nimble, succinct, imagery style in language use and interprets a given concept in the context with the emphasis put on its wholeness (Nisbett et al. 2001). Thus, ambiguity is not totally intolerable in Chinese, and the characteristics of the Chinese language and the Chinese thinking style of reasoning from the general to the specific may underlie the preference of applying general metaphors that makes it possible for the Chinese people to understand the intangible, abstract concept of COUNTRY/STATE/NATION in terms of a natural entity capable of receiving various human actions.

Furthermore, although the identified major source domains of PERSON, OBJECT, CONTAINER, BUILDING, PLANT in addition to FAMILY and HOME/HOMELAND are present in the Chinese, English and Hungarian languages, the occurrence frequency of each source domain in every political discourse corpus under investigation is not the same, and the use of a particular source domain is usually motivated by the social and cultural contexts to achieve the intended political goal(s). It is found out that PERSON is the only source domain that has a high frequency in three political discourse corpora, showing that a country/state/nation is universally preferred to be seen as a person by political leaders of three countries to convey what a country/state/nation can do for its people. But the varied preference of other source domains is indicated by the comparison of their occurrences in three political discourse corpora, which can demonstrate that FAMILY and CONTAINER are source domains more frequently used by the Chinese leader, and OBJECT and CONTAINER are more favorable source domains for two American presidents, but Hungarian leaders adopt the source domains of BUILDING and VEHICLE (a specification of CONTAINER) more times in their government work reports. Such different preferences for certain source domains in the metaphorical understanding of COUNTRY/STATE/NATION in three political discourse corpora and the absolute dominance of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor in Chinese political corpus can prove that different social and cultural contexts may play an important role in affecting politicians' choices of their favorite source domains for talking about their countries in political discourse.

#### **4. Conclusion**

This chapter is intended to provide new discoveries that can supplement the analysis of FAMILY as a target domain in modern Mandarin Chinese. From the explicit discussions about all linguistic examples of metaphors with 家(jiā) as source domain in the Modern Chinese Corpus, it is safe to conclude that FAMILY and HOME are common source domains to metaphorically conceptualize other abstract concepts in Chinese. However, FAMILY is more frequently understood through other concrete source domains than used as a source domain, since linguistic examples of metaphors with FAMILY or HOME as source domain are much

fewer in number than those of metaphors of FAMILY in the language Corpus. Moreover, linguistic data from the Modern Chinese Corpus also show that metaphors of FAMILY IS A PERSON, FAMILY IS A CONTAINER, FAMILY IS A POSSESSED OBJECT, FAMILY IS A WHOLE OBJECT WITH PARTS and various similes are at work together with those metaphors with FAMILY and HOME as source domains, which may indicate that the Chinese people may apply a cluster of metaphors and other rhetorical device(s) to construct abstract concepts and meanings.

Table 34: The targets metaphorically conceptualized through FAMILY and HOME and their appearance numbers in the Modern Chinese Corpus

<b>FAMILY as source domain</b>			
ethnic nationalities	6	mankind	2
country/state/nation	5	social organization/association	1
international world/community	5	school	1
society	5	neighborhood	1
ordinary people and the army	4	enterprise	1
the Olympics	2	factory	1
revolutionaries	2	government officials and bandits	1
army	2	politicians	1
<b>HOME as source domain</b>			
island	3	food stand	1
borderland	1	workroom	1
reservoir	1	collective community	1
department of gynecology and obstetrics	1	Youth League branch	1
duck farm	1	school	2
factory	1	China	1
four seas (the outer world)	4	heaven and earth	1

Table 34 summarizes all the targets that are understood metaphorically through the source domains of FAMILY and HOME in the Modern Chinese Corpus, which can clearly reflect the Chinese social and cultural characteristics of regarding social interpersonal relations as family relations in the family-centered, collective society and the tendency of merging the public working life and the private family life together. The structure, emotions, human relations, moral values, responsibilities and duties in the family are usually mapped into the abstract targets to regulate the desired pattern of social interactions and the norms of expected social behaviors through the application of the source domain of FAMILY. The use of HOME as source domain to talk about a social community or one's working place blurs the boundary between the public working life and the private family life and calls for people's affection, loyalty and dedication to the social community or the working place as they do to their home. In addition, the metaphors with FAMILY and HOME as source domains can help to achieve harmony and stability in a collective social group because members of the group become family members, who are supposed to love, trust and support each other, fulfill family duties and live harmoniously together to maintain the family according to the Chinese family values. It is also discovered that FAMILY is key concept to metaphorically understand the political issues concerning ethnic and international relations, and the political goals of obtaining social harmony and national unity and stability can be realized more easily through the entailments



of FAMILY metaphors.

On the other hand, the comparative corpus research on the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor in Chinese, American and Hungarian political discourse confirms the metaphor's universal presence in three languages and its dominance in Chinese political discourse, which can verify the salience of the FAMILY concept in the Chinese culture and society that is not shared by Western cultures. Moreover, each source domain is usually "associated with a particular meaning focus (or foci) that is (or are) mapped onto the target", and "this meaning focus is conventionally fixed and agreed-on within a speech community" that can "uniquely characterize the source" (Kövecses 2010a: 138), so various source domains are activated to depict different aspects of a country/state/nation and achieve different political purposes in three political discourse corpora. The source domains of FAMILY, HOME/HOMELAND, PERSON, CONTAINER and OBJECT may show the structure and various functions of a country/state/nation while BUILDING and PLANT can highlight the government's political accomplishments and future tasks of achieving national development and prosperity. Even though China, the United States and Hungary are different both in political system and political ideology, the universal aspects of human life experience may explain why many source domains for COUNTRY/STATE/NATION are shared by political leaders from three countries whereas the variation in the use of metaphors of COUNTRY/STATE/NATION in political speeches can be seen as a result of contextual effects.

Different social contexts may lead to different political tasks and give rise to the application of different metaphors for intended political goals. Culture as a contextual factor can greatly affect people's preference for a particular source domain in the metaphorical understanding of a particular target, and thus influence the occurrence frequency of a given metaphor in political discourse. The salience of FAMILY in the Chinese culture is manifested in the conventionality and lexicalization of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor in the Chinese language, and the metaphor's high occurrence frequency in Chinese political discourse corpus also proves the Chinese cultural preference for FAMILY as the source domain to understand COUNTRY/STATE/NATION that is not detected in American and Hungarian political discourse corpora due to differences in cultural values and traditions. What's more, the source domain of PLANT appears in Chinese government work reports but not in Hungarian ones while VEHICLE is one of the most common source domains for conceptualizing COUNTRY/STATE/NATION in Hungarian political discourse corpus but finds no counterpart in Chinese and American political discourse corpora. These research findings clearly reveal the contextual effects of social, cultural experience on the variation of metaphors of COUNTRY/STATE/NATION in political discourse across different cultures.

In addition, the use of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor in political discourse does not necessarily lead to a clear judgment about the dominance of either Lakoff's family model, since the morality characteristics of both family models are often discovered from the political reasoning and the roles a country/state/nation can play as a person in three political discourse corpora. The nine years of American State of the Union Addresses seem to prove Lakoff's (1996) opinion that the conservative Republicans are ready to fully employ the Strict Father model of morality to express their political views while the liberal Democrats are less keen on enhancing the Nurturant Parent model of morality in their arguments on political issues, because the Strict Father model is explicitly held through frequent references of its morality features in the Republican president Bush's speeches but the dominance of the Nurturant Parent model is not so obviously supported in the Democratic

president Obama's speeches.

Contrary to Lakoff's (1996) assumption about the Strict Father model's dominance in Chinese politics, the Nurturant Parent model seems to be more dominant in Chinese political discourse corpus. The absolute obedience and trust for authority and harsh punishment entailed in the Strict Father model are morality characteristics of feudal China when the belief of the Monarch's power was given by the Heaven prevailed in feudal Chinese society and manifested itself in political rules at that time, but the Chinese annual government work reports from the year 2004 to 2012 displayed more features of the Nurturant Parent model of morality, in which the country held a supporting, nurturant role to lead and encourage its people to work for the country's sustainable development and social harmony. Given the fact that the country's various roles are realized by the central government of China, it seems that the Nurturant Parent model is adopted to construct and sustain the central government's image of being a servant of the common people, with political aims and tasks conveyed through the moral values of the Nurturant Parent model to call for the public's joint efforts to realize the political goal of national stability and prosperity.

Moreover, no clean-cut dominance of either family model is visible in Hungarian political discourse corpus, although the morality traits of both family models are detected to characterize those political parties' speeches at different time periods. Such lack of dominance can be attributed to the fact that neither Hungarian political parties correspond with the conservative versus liberal distinction as in America nor the original meaning of right-wing and left-wing properly exist in Hungary during the decade under examination, because Hungarian "left-wing parties often enact measures that should characterize the right-wing, and alternatively the reverse may also be true", which can be called "the Hungarian twist (see Kövecses 2009b)" (Kou and Farkas 2014: 127). With respect to the relation between Hungary and EU, the Hungarian conservative party stresses the Strict Father model of morality whereas the social-liberal party conceptualizes the country with characteristics belonging to the other model, which can be considered as distinctions within the EUROPEAN UNION AS FAMILY metaphor that does not have linguistic examples in Hungarian political discourse corpus (Kou and Farkas 2014).

All in all, the research of FAMILY metaphors with linguistic data from the Modern Chinese Corpus indeed reveals special features of the Chinese culture and the conventional cultural custom of extending kinship and family system to structure social communities and interpersonal relations. The comparative study of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor in Chinese, American and Hungarian political discourse corpora has generated research results that further support the centrality of the family in the Chinese culture and the functions of family and kinship in shaping the Chinese political practices that are not shared by American and Hungarian cultures. Future research with larger political discourse corpora may provide reliable evidence to verify the notion of body politic suggested by Musolff (2012), and systematic comparative studies across different languages about the concept of FAMILY and FAMILY metaphors are needed to discover how FAMILY is metaphorically understood and how the concept is used as a source domain to conceptualize other abstract targets in different cultures, which can also yield more interesting outcomes to reveal the similarities and differences between the Chinese concept JIA and FAMILY in other countries.

## **Chapter Eight: A Questionnaire about the Young Chinese People's**

### **Conception of FAMILY in Contemporary China**

The useful research results drawn from the linguistic data of the Modern Chinese Corpus have demonstrated that the FAMILY concept in Chinese is metaphorically understood through major source domains of OBJECT, CONTAINER, PERSON, PLANT, BUILDING and ORGANISM, and FAMILY is also used as a source domain to make sense of other abstract concepts that can reflect particular Chinese cultural values and traditions. However, the corpus data are linguistic materials of last century that reveal no information about the metaphorical conceptualizations of FAMILY in contemporary China where three decades of modernization, urbanization and globalization have witnessed both the country's tremendous economic achievements and profound social changes that have resulted in "a structural transformation of domestic life in both ideology and institutional arrangement" (Yan 2009: 79). The socialist political campaigns have undermined the traditional Chinese family lineage organization and the foundation of traditional kinship ideology, and the nuclear family has taken the place of the traditional extended family as the prototypical family pattern in modern China (Yan 2009; Zang 2011). Moreover, the greater emphasis on individuality has been generated from the development of commodity production and a market-oriented economy which have led to the rise of consumerism that has not only freed people from the dominance of the collective ethics of self-sacrifice and the collective constraints of the family and kinship but also encouraged people to pursue personal happiness and individual freedom, sometimes even at the expense of the interests of larger kin groups (Yan 2009). Social hierarchy has been built upon individual economic power instead of generational seniority and age rank in the lineage organization, and the conventional family loyalty and obligations, emotional attachment and kinship behavioral norms and alliances have also been eroded by the trend of marketization and commercialization in modern Chinese society (Yan 2009).

The considerable changes in family size, intrafamilial relations and the family ideal (Zheng 1992; Yan 2009; Zang 2011) under the influence of the Chinese social, ideological and economic reforms can change people's bodily experience about the family and family life, so new source domain(s) might be adopted to understand the FAMILY concept, and some of the conceptual metaphors (and metonymies) used for FAMILY in the early twenty-first century are probably different from those used in the last century. Thus, it is worth undertaking a serious investigation to inspect whether there are changes in the figurative conceptualizations of FAMILY in contemporary China. Due to the absence of a ready-made language corpus with linguistic materials from the new millennium, a questionnaire study about the Chinese conception of FAMILY is conducted as a feasible way to collect sufficient linguistic data in order to fulfill the intended research goals. The comparative discussions about the research results from the Modern Chinese Corpus and the questionnaire are expected to provide answers for the following questions: 1) Are those source domains for FAMILY identified from the Modern Chinese Corpus still in use in the early twenty-first century? 2) Are there any new source domains for FAMILY detected in the questionnaire results compared with those discovered in the Modern Chinese Corpus? 3) What are the changes in the figurative conceptualizations of FAMILY in contemporary China? The social and cultural contextual

effects on people's figurative understanding of FAMILY are also taken into consideration and analyzed in detail, which might reveal the particular characteristics of the Chinese culture as well.

## **1. The participants and design of the questionnaire research**

The young Chinese people are chosen as respondents of the questionnaire research, and the term "young Chinese people" in the present dissertation refers to young people between the ages of 15 to 24 as customarily defined by social terms (Yan 2009), those who were born in the 1990s and grew up in the first decade of the twenty-first century in mainland China. After more than twenty years of the implementation of the open-up policy, China had harvested the fruits of social and economic reforms, including the rapid growth of economy, the quickly improved living conditions and the replacement of consumerism as the paramount cultural ideology of Chinese society by the end of the 1990s (Yan 2009). The twenty-first century has revolutionized people's life style all over the world with the fast development of cutting-edge technologies that may accelerate the process of globalization with quick international information exchange. With the opportunities to receive modern education, live in a more open society and easily get access to information and new values globally through the Internet, young people have embraced a different world that was not available to their parents, and they are also comparatively more knowledgeable, open-minded and willing to defend their individual rights and interests from outside intervention than their parents (Yan 2009).

Besides, traditional Confucian family values and moral obligations have been weakened by the radical social, economic and political changes, and the institution of family in modern Chinese society is characterized by the reduction of family size, the centrality of conjugal relationship, the decline of patriarchy and parental authority and power along with the rising awareness of gender equality and independence in family life (Zang 2008; Yan 2009). The revolutionary transformation of the Chinese family and the differences in life style and socioeconomic environment may enable young people to conceive the concept of FAMILY differently than their parents and the aged, which might result in the use of new source domains for FAMILY that are not present in the Modern Chinese Corpus. Therefore, the young Chinese people are suitable respondents for the present questionnaire research which is carried out at a Chinese university in view of the feasibility and manageability of the research in reality. With the help of a local professor of the Shenyang Normal University, her students between 18 and 23 years old become voluntary questionnaire participants who come from cities and villages nationwide and study in different departments of the university.

The questionnaire about the Chinese conception of FAMILY is self-administered and completed by participants without the researcher's intervention. The Chinese character 家(jiā) is still used as the key research word, and the questionnaire questions are self-created and mainly inspired by sociological studies about the Chinese family carried out with questionnaires (see Chu and Yu 2010; Lu et al. 2012), since no linguistic research of FAMILY conducted with a questionnaire can be found for reference. The present questionnaire has four major parts (see appendix 8 for the complete, bilingual questionnaire sheet). The first three parts include the questionnaire participants' personal and familial information such as age, gender, family origin and monthly income, family structure and relations which are assumed to uncover various aspects of the participants' family life and serve as the variables for the

possible changes in people's figurative understanding of FAMILY. The use of Lakoff's two family models of morality can also be checked through questions concerning parental roles and modes of family education, and multiple-choice questions are designed in these three parts of the questionnaire for the ease and manageability of data collection and analysis.

The fourth part of the questionnaire concentrates on the exploration of the participants' comprehension of FAMILY, with open-ended questions devised to require the participants to express freely their ideas about FAMILY, compare their notions of FAMILY with those of their parents and introspect on the impact of modern Chinese society with commodity economy upon the conception of FAMILY. It is likely that those changes suggested by sociologists in the institution of family in contemporary China may affect people's perceptions of the family which may lead to the use of different FAMILY metaphors. More attention is thus paid to creating questions that can encourage the participants to pour out their opinions about FAMILY, and as a result, ample linguistic data can be collected for further analyses about their figurative conceptualizations of FAMILY. It is also important to note that the Chinese FAMILY concept is linguistically expressed by the key research word 家(jiā), and the reference of the word may activate the cognitive model of JIA in the minds of native Chinese speakers. Thus, a question is added to this part of the questionnaire to find out what come to the participants' minds if 家(jiā) is referred to, which aims to test the activation of the cognitive model of JIA and explore the relation between FAMILY and the Chinese concept of JIA.

## **2. The procedure and results of the questionnaire research**

In the year 2013, the questionnaire papers were distributed to volunteer students who submitted their answers under the supervision of the contact professor during the class time, and the participants were neither primed with information about the linguistic research of FAMILY nor deliberately encouraged to write out metaphors or metonymies. After retrieving the questionnaire papers, relevant data have been collected and classified into tables and diagrams for further analyses. The source domains for FAMILY have also been identified from the participants' written answers and compared with those source domains found in the Modern Chinese Corpus in order to confirm any possible changes in the metaphorical conceptualizations of FAMILY in contemporary China.

### **2.1 The personal information and family origin of the participants**

Among 500 copies of printed questionnaire copies sent to the participants, 483 copies have been returned with valid answers provided by 404 female students and 79 male students whose university majors are listed in table 8.1 below. The number of females is almost five times higher than that of males which might cause biased results due to the different social roles endowed upon men and women. The current research is not a study focusing on gender differences in metaphor use but research data are presented in charts with the consideration of gender in order to avoid blind generalizations and offer a chance for comparison. As a comprehensive university, Shenyang Normal University had more than 21,000 students on campus in the year 2013 but the ratio of male students to female students at the university was around 1:4 to 1:7<sup>18</sup>, which might explain why female participants greatly outnumbered

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<sup>18</sup> The information is found in student work reports of the university on the Internet. Refer to the official website:

male participants in the present questionnaire research.

Table 8.1: The number of participants and their academic majors

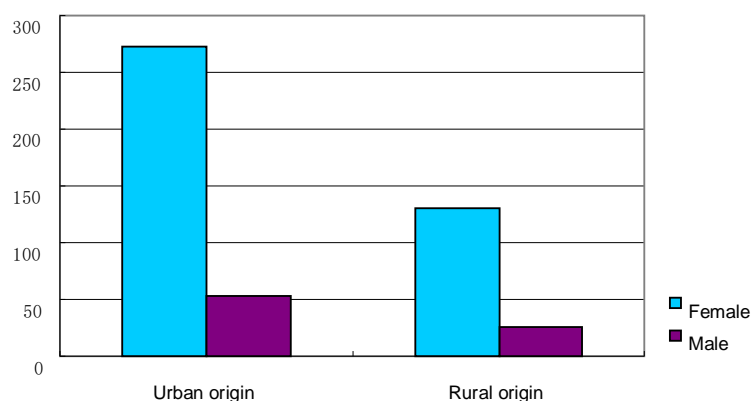
<b>Academic Majors</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Academic Majors</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>
Physics	72	5	Foreign Languages	6	0
Chinese as a foreign language	53	2	Logistics management	5	4
Biology	51	4	Painting	5	2
Chemistry	49	7	Tourism management	4	0
Mathematics	43	1	Sociology	4	0
Primary education	17	1	Graphic design	3	0
Political education	16	12	Law	2	3
Visual design	16	8	Physical training	2	10
Environment science	15	1	Applied psychology	1	0
Economy and finance	15	6	Journalism	1	0
Music	10	2	Food engineering	0	2
Comic and animation	7	4	Computer and network	0	2
Chinese Language and literature	7	1	Engineering and automation	0	2

According to table 8.2, most of the questionnaire participants are students between 20 and 22 years old, and only about 17% of them are younger than 20 or older than 22. There is no obvious age difference between female and male students, since nearly 80% of the participants fall into the same age groups for both female and male students. Table 8.3 shows the distribution of the participants' family origin: 273 female students and 53 male students are from major cities of mainland China while 131 female students and 26 male students come from the countryside. In total, the number of urban participants is two times higher than that of rural participants. Though the research is not a comparative study on figurative conceptualizations of FAMILY between city residents and villagers, the influence of family origin is not completely excluded.

Table 8.2: The age range of the participants

<b>Age Group</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Total</b>
18 year-old	6	0	6
19 year-old	32	6	38
20 year-old	103	22	125
21 year-old	145	23	168
22 year-old	90	18	108
23 year-old	28	10	38

Table 8.3: The family origin of the participants



## 2.2 The participants' family structure and family situation

More than half of the participants are the only child in their families as shown in the table 8.4, a fact echoing the “one-child” policy implemented in China from the 1980s as a method to control the sharp increase of the population. According to this policy, urban families can have a second child if the first born is serious sick or disabled, and rural families may have a second child if the first child is a girl in consideration for the practical need of having labors for farming. People need to pay fines and receive punishments if they infringe the rules. Nearly half of the participants have sisters or brothers, and some of them even have more than two siblings, which might indicate that the “one-child” policy was not strictly observed by the public in the 1990s.

Table 8.4: The number of siblings of the participants

Number of Siblings	Female	Male	Total
0 sibling	212	42	254
1 sibling	140	19	159
2 siblings	36	16	52
More than 2 siblings	16	2	18

Table 8.5 tells that most participants are from families with two working parents. More than one fifth of the parents are farmers, as nearly one third of the participants' families live in the countryside. Businessman, factory worker, company employee and teacher are the four main professions held by the participants' parents to make a living. Unemployment is also seen from the data, and some families even have both parents out of job. Compared with fathers who often hold a job, close to one fourth of mothers are not employed, which in a way demonstrates that women are still at disadvantage in the job market, especially in the countryside where a lot of women are either farmers or housewives.

Table 8.5: The professions of the participants' parents

Father's Profession	Female	Male	Father's Profession	Female	Male
farmer	96	14	engineer	13	2
businessman	7	14	police	7	1

worker	67	20	doctor	4	0
company employee	60	5	architect	2	0
teacher	32	6	fisherman	1	0
freelancer	18	8	chef	1	0
unemployed	18	6	designer	0	1
civil service	14	2			
<b>Mother's Profession</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Mother's Profession</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>
farmer	100	20	civil service	7	1
unemployed	68	17	doctor	7	2
businesswoman	63	11	police	3	1
teacher	50	6	engineer	2	0
company employee	49	5	nurse	1	0
worker	35	8	designer	1	0
freelancer	18	8			

Family monthly income is an important element to determine a family's social status and life style. Comparatively wealthier families can afford a better material life and higher quality education for their children to live and develop without worrying too much about financial problems, but children from poorer families have to shoulder up family burdens and confront financial obstacles at a young age. Therefore, people from rich families and those from poor families might have different family conditions that influence their conception of FAMILY. According to the announcement of China National Bureau of Statistics in 2013, the average monthly income nationwide was about 4492.5 RMB (about 535 Euros) for city families with two working parents, whereas rural families earned about 1483 RMB (about 176.5 Euros) every month on average, and the lowest average monthly income was about 1906 RMB (about 227 Euros) in cities and 430.5 RMB (about 51 Euros) in rural areas<sup>19</sup>.

Table 8.6: The monthly family income of the participants

<b>Monthly family income (1 Euro=8.4 RMB)</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Total</b>
lower than 500 RMB (about 59.5 Euros)	14	6	20
lower than 1000 RMB (about 119 Euros)	14	3	17
lower than 2000 RMB (about 238 Euros)	67	12	79
2000- 3000 RMB (about 238-357 Euros)	51	13	64
3000- 4000 RMB (about 357-476 Euros)	72	14	86
4000- 5000 RMB (about 476-595 Euros)	78	10	88
more than 5000 RMB (more than 595 Euros)	108	21	129

From table 8.6, it is clear to see that almost half of the participants' natal families have a monthly income between 2000 RMB and 5000 RMB (about 238 to 595 Euros), and one

<sup>19</sup> In the year 2013 when the questionnaire research was carried out in the university, the average exchange rate of the Chinese money *Renminbi* (RMB) against Euro was: 1 Euro=8.4 RMB. The statistical numbers of average monthly income for Chinese city families and rural families in 2013 were calculated upon the information about personal yearly income obtained from an authoritative Chinese news webpage: [www.chinanews.com/cj/2014/01-20/5754948.shtml](http://www.chinanews.com/cj/2014/01-20/5754948.shtml)



fourth of the families have a higher income of more than 5000 RMB (more than 595 Euros). Compared with the national statistics data, the monthly income in three fourth of the participants' natal families cannot reach the level of the national average, and one fourth of these families even belong to the group of families with lowest income which in fact are rural families living on farming or city families with either or both parents unemployed. Given the fact that one third of the participants come from rural families, the questionnaire results may give a clue about the conception of FAMILY among young Chinese people from unwealthy and poor families.

Table 8.7 displays the major patterns of the participants' natal families. Close to 79% of the participants grow up in nuclear families and 15% of them live in extended families with three generations. Only 5% of the participants are from single-parent families, indicating a low divorce rate among the participants' parents. Very few participants have been brought up by their grandparents instead of parents. With respect to the preferred future family pattern after marriage, table 8.8 shows that 64% of the participants would like to set up nuclear families but 26% of them want to stay with their parents, and 10% of them even prefer to live in a big extended family with their grandparents. Male participants show a stronger preference for the extended family, since 44% of male participants and 34% of female participants do not want to establish nuclear families after they are married.

Table 8.7: The patterns of the participants' natal families

<b>Family Patterns</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Total</b>
nuclear family (parents and children)	319	60	379
extended family with three generations	58	15	73
divorced, single-parent family	22	3	25
grandparents' family without parents	5	1	6

Table 8.8: The family patterns the participants would like to adopt after marriage

<b>Family Patterns</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Total</b>
nuclear family (parents and children)	266	44	310
extended family with parents	100	24	124
extended family with grandparents and parents	38	11	49

The dominance of the nuclear family pattern and the presence of the traditional extended family pattern in both tables correspond with the sociological discoveries that the nuclear family is the typical family pattern in modern China but the traditional extended families still exist both in cities and rural areas. More participants tend to build up extended families after marriage though some of them grow up in nuclear families, which might prove the persistence of the traditional Chinese family values and the crucial functions of the extended Chinese family in terms of satisfying the basic human needs and providing care services for the aged and child rearing. It is a precondition to buy or rent a house to establish a nuclear family but the commercial housing price becomes incredibly high in China nowadays, and even renting an apartment could easily cost a considerable part of a working person's salary in cities<sup>20</sup>. Since the majority of the participants come from unwealthy families, the practical

<sup>20</sup> According to China National Bureau of Statistics, the housing price increased 55% on average each year during the year 1987 to 2012 and the house rent has been growing 3.32% on average every month since the year 2002, but the salary

economic concern may also contribute to the participants' growing tendency of setting up extended families which are believed to be flexible, economically more functional and capable of making the best of family resources and external opportunities (Yan 2009). Besides, it is also a traditional Chinese custom that men need to shoulder up heavier family economic responsibilities including buying a house and earning money to support the family, so more male participants would like to stay with their parents or grandparents after marriage if they are not able to cover the economic cost of running a nuclear family and handle the family obligations of looking after the aged or disabled family members.

### 2.3 The family education mode and parental roles in family life

Family education refers to the education of ethics, morality and the common sense life knowledge within a family, and parents usually assume different roles in family education and teach their children in different ways. Lakoff (1996) believes that the difference in the notions of the ideal family leads to different morality systems underlying his two family models: the Strict Father model stresses moral values of self-discipline and self-reliance while the Nurturant Parent model attaches importance to nurturing both towards self and others. The power hierarchy and family obligations of filial piety in a traditional Chinese family exhibit the features of the Confucian family morality and ethics that are in accord with the Strict Father model of morality. However, the control of the traditional Confucian family morality is waning in modern China (Yan 2009; Zang 2011), which can be observed from the questionnaire participants' opinions about the mode of family education and parental roles in family life as well.

Table 8.9: The responsibility holder and the leader of the participants' families

<b>Holder of family responsibility</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Total</b>
father	67	26	93
mother	28	7	35
father and mother share the responsibility	302	46	348
both parents do not care about it	7	0	7
<b>Head of a family</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Total</b>
father	133	39	172
mother	88	14	102
father and mother take turns to be the leader	169	26	195
neither parent is the leader	14	0	14

As demonstrated in table 8.9 above, the holder of family responsibility is not always the head of the family, since 72% of the participants declare that their parents share family responsibility equally and 40% of them report that their parents take turns to be the family leader. More than half of the participants can identify a parent holding the leader role in the family while only about 26% of them claim that one of the parents is the major responsibility

holder. Compared with 19% of the participants' fathers who undertake family responsibilities, close to 36% of their fathers are deemed as the head of a family whereas 7% of the participants' mothers are maintaining the family and 21% of their mothers are family heads. About 3% of the participants believe neither of the parents takes the leading role but only 1.4% of them reply that neither of the parents cares about family responsibilities. These numbers indicate that the Confucian power hierarchy in Chinese family relations is weakened, and husband-wife relationship is the central axis in the family instead of the traditional patriarchal father-son relationship. The husband's traditional absolute dominance in holding the role of family leader and fulfilling family responsibilities is declining, but married women enjoy more domestic power with higher family status, and some of them even obtain the leading role of the family. Moreover, there is a strong tendency for parents to share the family responsibilities and the leading role of the family in the participants' families, showing that many Chinese working husbands and wives indeed cooperate to share the household decision-making power and family responsibilities nowadays as discovered by sociologists (see Zuo and Bian 2005; Zang 2008).

Table 8.10 displays that one third of the participants claim that both of the parents are almost the same in being strict with their children. A little more than 22% of the participants' fathers and 29% of their mothers are regarded as the stricter parent in the family. Less than 15% of the participants have non-strict parents in their families. Nearly half of the participants' families do not have a stricter parent which again proves the waning authority of the father and the growing power of the mother in the Chinese family. It seems that many parents not only share the responsibilities and the leading role in the family but also share the same behavioral mode in front of their children. In addition, more female participants choose their mothers as the stricter parent compared with male participants, since 30% of mothers and 20% of fathers are considered as the stricter parent in female participants' families, but close to 37% of fathers and 25% of mothers are deemed as the stricter parent in male participants' families. So, Chinese fathers are usually much stricter on their sons than daughters, and many Chinese mothers take on a stricter parent image in family life instead of the traditional role of being obedient and gentle at home, especially in front of their daughters.

Table 8.10: The stricter parent in participants' families

<b>Who is the stricter parent in the family?</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Total</b>
father	79	29	108
mother	122	20	142
father and mother are almost the same	139	22	161
neither parent is strict	64	8	72

With respect to parents' family roles in addition to parenting, table 8.11 below shows that the roles ranking higher on the list have important elements of a nurturant parent who provides love, support, care and help. The majority of the participants see their parents as stable supporters to back them up at any time, and their reasonable needs are satisfied unconditionally by their parents with love and care. More than half of the participants enjoy a very intimate, friendly relationship with their parents, and nearly 12% of them are so close to their parents that they are more like siblings rather than parents and children. Approximately 36% of the participants show a great respect to their parents when they claim that their

parents are their examples for life and growth, but a little more than 14% of the participants have parents who indulge and spoil their children by satisfying all their demands.

Table 8.11: Parents' roles in the participants' family life

<b>Parents' roles in family life</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Total</b>
main family pillars who offer help at anytime	278	39	317
unconditional supporters with love and care	253	30	283
gentle, communicative friends	223	32	255
examples for growth and life	157	16	173
authoritative leaders with strict discipline	75	28	103
parents who satisfy any need of the children	60	10	70
parents who are close to children like siblings	50	7	57
parents who require children's absolute obedience	21	13	34
the most familiar strangers	14	3	17
conservative, old fogeys who are unable to communicate	11	3	14
indifferent parents who are sources of family income	5	5	10
tyrants who often beat and scold the children	0	4	4

Meanwhile, 29% of the participants report that their parents are strict with discipline and irrefutable authority, which may reveal the key morality elements of the Strict Father family model. Chinese parents seem to be much stricter with male children than female children because 57% of the male participants claim that they have strict, authoritative parents but only 24% of the female participants who share the same type of parents. However, severe punishments such as beating and scolding are rarely mentioned by only four male participants, and most of the participants with strict parents also agree that their parents are stable back-up pillars to support them and grant them unconditional love. Less than 9% of the participants identify their parents as the familiar strangers, conservative fogeys and indifferent money makers, which might indicate that most participants have supporting and loving parents, and only a small number of them are neglected by their parents or emotionally not so close to their parents due to failed parent-child communication or unsolved family problems.

Compared with their parents, 82% of the participants share the wishes to be a friend and life example for their future children. About 58% of the participants even want to be intimate confidants of their children, and 43% would like to be the footstone to maintain their families' stability. The participants do not show much interest in becoming the main money makers or authoritative parents, since only 18% of the participants announce that they would like to be the backbone of their family economy, and 5% of them choose to be a parent with strict discipline and absolute authority. Table 8.12 also demonstrates that the majority of female participants and male participants agree on the importance of being a life example and a friend of their children, even 37% of males participants want to be their children's intimate confidants, so future parents would like to put more emphasis on friendly communication to build up a more relaxed family environment, and they prefer to be their children's close friends rather than controlling, authoritative parents. It is likely that more future fathers will not be strict at all because only 20% of male participants want to have strict disciplines and absolute authority in front of their children.

Table 8.12: The parental roles the participants want to play in front of their own children

<b>The participants' future parental roles</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Total</b>
an initiator and example for the children's healthy growth	336	61	397
a friend who can communicate freely	335	61	396
an intimate confidant	249	29	278
the footstone to maintain a family's stability	170	36	206
the backbone of the family economy	69	18	87
a parent with strict discipline	18	6	24
a leader with absolute authority	15	10	25

The mode of family education is another aspect from which the changes in family relations and the way of parent-child communication can be detected. As shown in table 8.13 below, a large portion of participants has received free style family education with emphasis on parental care, communication and support. About 78% of them report that their parents hold peaceful discussions over problems and provide timely support, and 17% of the participants enjoy unrestrained freedom without parents' interference in their own affairs while 8% of the parents spoil their children and satisfy all their needs without limitation. Only 9% of the parents are authoritative and intolerable for children's resistance, and 4% of the parents have strict discipline with punishment like beating and scolding. There are another 9% of the participants who elaborate that in their families, parents are strict with principles but children could have limited freedom to manage their own business as long as they do not break the rules. It can be proved that the Nurturant Parent model of morality is more dominant in the participants' families, since most of the participants' parents are supporting parents who prefer to treat their children like friends and educate their children with peaceful discussions rather than parental authority or severe punishments.

Table 8.13: The modes of family education the participants have received

<b>The modes of family education received</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Total</b>
peaceful discussions over problems with timely support	320	55	375
no interference and allowing unrestrained freedom	65	19	84
absolute authority requiring children's total obedience	35	10	45
spoiling children by satisfying their needs indulgently	32	5	37
strict rules with limited freedom	15	4	19
strict discipline with punishment like beating and scolding	11	7	18
indifferent to the existence of children	3	1	4

Table 8.14 below offers more proof of a growing preference for the Nurturant Parent model of morality among the participants because about 75% of the participants would like to discuss problems peacefully with their future children and offer timely help, and 66% of them want to respect their children's choices and give freedom for children's self-development. Compared with their parents, less participants will give their children unrestrained freedom or spoil and satisfy children's any needs without limitation. The importance of morality education is widely acknowledged by 86% of the participants who intend to teach morality to their children with an aim of letting their children grow up into virtuous, independent and self-disciplined individuals in the future. Only 2% of the participants wish to be authoritative parents and demand children's absolute obedience, even though 14% of the participants agree

that it is necessary to have strict rules and punishments in order to teach children to know right from wrong and learn from their mistakes.

Table 8.14: The modes of family education for the participants' future children

<b>The modes of family education for future children</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Total</b>
Pay attention to morality education and let children develop the sense of independence and self-discipline	354	63	417
Discuss problems peacefully, listen to children's ideas and offer timely help	309	51	360
Respect children's choices and give them freedom	276	42	318
Strictly discipline children so that they can distinguish between right and wrong and get punished for mistakes	51	15	66
Do not interfere and give children unrestrained freedom	10	4	14
Maintain the absolute parental authority and do not tolerate children's disobedience	6	3	9
Satisfy children's any needs	6	0	6

When asked about whether it is a tradition for the Chinese people to attach great importance to the family, nearly 91% of the participants agree with a clear positive answer, and 5% of them oppose the idea. However, only two third of the participants approve that young people in China still attach great importance to the family, and 14% of them offer a negative answer. Close to 20% of the participants cannot provide a definite reply. Compared with their landslide approval to the Chinese tradition of attaching great importance to the family, more participants hold a negative view or feel not sure about the notion that young Chinese people still attach great importance to the family nowadays, which may reveal that the participants are aware of the social and ideological changes that affect the inheritance of the traditional cultural values upon the family.

Table 8.15: The participants' opinions about the Chinese tradition of attaching great importance to the family

<b>In your opinion, is it a tradition for the Chinese people to attach great importance to the family?</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Total</b>
Yes	365	73	438
No	22	4	26
I am not sure	17	2	19
<b>As a young college student born in the 1990s, do you feel that young people still attach great importance to the family nowadays?</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Total</b>
Yes	265	54	319
No	59	10	69
I am not sure	80	15	95

The research data of the first three parts of the questionnaire clearly confirm the sociological discoveries about the changes of the Chinese family in terms of the dominance

of the nuclear family, the replacement of the horizontal conjugal tie as the central axis of family relations, the waning of the traditional cultural value on the family and the decline of parental power and authority (Yan 2009), and Lakoff's the Nurturant Parent model of morality is more preferred by the questionnaire participants and more dominant in their natal families in respect of family management, parenting style and the mode of family education. Though these questionnaire findings so far tend to be sociological, they offer ample background information about the internal dynamics of domestic life experienced by the participants which may motivate different metaphorical conceptualizations of FAMILY in response to the changes in family values, family size, power structure within a family and patterns of familial relations in contemporary China.

## 2.4 The concept of FAMILY in the questionnaire results

In their written replies to the open-end questions in the fourth part of the questionnaire, the participants employ a variety of source domains to make sense of FAMILY. Some of these source domains coincide with those found in the Modern Chinese corpus, but others may reveal the participants' individual metaphorical interpretations of FAMILY.

### 2.4.1 What is FAMILY?

The questionnaire participants have been instructed to reply in sentences starting with "Family is \_\_\_\_\_" while answering the question what family is, so source domains for conceptualizing FAMILY show up immediately. Nearly two thirds of the questionnaire participants regardless of gender conceptualize FAMILY as a safe place through several specific source domains listed in table 8.16 below, among which HARBOR is the most frequently used source domain that appears in almost half of the participants' written answers. The family's important functions of providing safety, rest and protection are expressed through the metaphors of FAMILY IS HARBOR and FAMILY IS RIVERBANK/SEASHORE. The understanding of these metaphors might also involve the activation of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, with its mappings specified by the participants as follows: 1) TO STUDY AND LIVE ON CAMPUS IS A SAILING JOURNEY; 2) DIFFICULTIES/ HARDSHIPS ARE PHYSICAL OBSTACLES OF STRONG WINDS AND HEAVY RAINS; 3) HUMAN BEINGS ARE SHIPS/BOATS. Moreover, more than 11% of the participants see their families as the resting home for their souls, which may reflect the family's healing power and people's strong affiliation to the family, since the family is relied upon for obtaining the peace of mind. The happiness and vitality of the family are also highlighted by the source domains of HEAVEN/PARADISE and OASIS, and several participants understand FAMILY as a pure land where they can stay relaxed and safe because no harmful pollutants exist to hurt them.

Table 8.16: The source domains the participants use to conceptualize FAMILY as a safe place

Source domains	Female	Male	Source domains	Female	Male
harbor	204	36	pure land	1	4
the home for the soul	46	9	riverbank; seashore	1	1
heaven; paradise	5	1	oasis	1	0

It is observed that none of these source domains in table 8.16 can be found in the

research results about metaphors of FAMILY in the Modern Chinese Corpus. The overwhelming preference for conceptualizing FAMILY as a safe place and the salience of HARBOR as the source domain for FAMILY among the questionnaire participants might be motivated by the contextual effects of their immediate physical and social environment. The majority of participants have to leave their hometown to study and live on campus, and the experience of dealing with all problems independently underlies the participants' metaphorical conceptualization of FAMILY as a safe place where they can rest and get help. Besides, many Chinese idioms have indicated that life's difficulties and hardships are conventionally understood through uncontrollable damages or disasters caused by natural phenomena of strong wind and heavy rain as discussed earlier, and it is not novel to describe a person figuratively as a sailing ship/boat if this person is studying or working far away from home, since the waterways of China have been very advanced in history, and the Chinese people have the knowledge and experience of sailing. Therefore, the family is a safe harbor where the participants can return for rest and protection against the turmoil of life because their parents and other family members are ready to help and support them with love when they cannot solve problems by themselves.

Compared with the wide presence of the general FAMILY IS AN OBJECT metaphor in the Modern Chinese Corpus, the questionnaire participants use both abstract concepts and concrete objects to specify the family object as shown in table 8.17. Intangible abstract concepts are regarded metaphorically as physical objects in order to receive human actions, and most source domains describe the positive aspects of the family, revealing that the participants as the young children in their natal families usually enjoy a happy family life, so very few of them see FAMILY as sacrifice or burden. Unlike its high frequency in the Modern Chinese Corpus, the FAMILY IS A POSSESSED OBJECT metaphor occurs only once in a female participant's claim that she possesses her family. It seems that the questionnaire participants do not emphasize their possession over their natal families when writing down their understanding of FAMILY, even though the FAMILY IS A POSSESSED OBJECT metaphor is a common metaphor marked either by the verbs indicating a possessive relation or by the combination of pronouns with the auxiliary 的(de) preceding the character 家(jiā) in the Chinese language as discussed in chapter six.

Table 8.17: The source domains the participants use to conceptualize FAMILY as an object

Source domains	Female	Male	Source domains	Female	Male
backup force	53	1	burden	2	1
love	36	4	faith	2	1
care	28	2	relation; bonds of love	1	2
motive power	14	4	support	2	0
reunion	12	4	hope	2	0
freedom	12	2	core	1	1
mental pillar	11	1	direction of life	1	1
energy; power	9	1	beginning of life	1	1
responsibility	8	1	spring	1	1
harmony	7	1	mark in the heart	1	0
comfort	7	1	sacrifice	1	0
meaning of life	3	1	journey	1	0
duty	3	1	origin	0	1



Physical objects	Female	Male	Physical objects	Female	Male
umbrella	3	2	crystal (of love)	1	0
sunshine	2	1	medicine	1	0
boat	2	1	liquor	1	0
lamp	2	1	commodity	0	1
water	2	0	road	0	1
footstone	1	1	sun	0	1
sea	1	1			

From table 8.17, it is also important to note that many propositional constituents of the cognitive model of the Chinese concept of FAMILY (JIA) such as family love, care, responsibility, duty and mental support for family members appear more frequently as the source domains for FAMILY, and the importance of the family's support for female participants is highlighted by the discoveries that more than 13% of them see FAMILY as their backup force, and more than 2% of them see FAMILY as their mental pillar. About 6% of all participants comprehend FAMILY as power or energy and 4% of them elaborate it as the motive power for their life. ENERGY and POWER are two source domains that show up less frequently in the Modern Chinese Corpus but emphasize the family's functions of supporting and recharging family members to move on in life. The source domains of HARMONY and REUNION are found in more than 4% of the participants' written answers, which can reflect the Chinese cultural ideal of a harmonious family with united members staying together. The comparatively frequent applications of FREEDOM and COMFORT as the source domains for FAMILY may reveal the relaxing environment in contemporary Chinese families and the ideological changes in the traditional Confucian family values that demand absolute obedience of the wives and children. The central status of the family in the Chinese minds can be detected from some participants' metaphorical interpretations of FAMILY as hope, faith, the core and meaning of their life.

In addition, many physical objects become source domains for FAMILY, though each of them only appears one to five times in the questionnaire results. Different aspects of the family are expressed through these real objects in the world. The protection function of the family is highlighted by the source domain of UMBRELLA, and FOOTSTONE emphasizes the stability provided by the family for its members. WATER and the light-related source domains of SUN, SUNSHINE and LAMP stress the importance and indispensability of the family, since water and light are essential to the survival of all living creatures. MEDICINE might lay emphasis on the healing power of a family and LIQUOR depicts the taste of family life. STORAGE focuses more on the creation and accumulation of shared memories within a family, and SEA is concerned with the tolerance of the family that can accommodate everything like the sea. The family as a road or a boat can offer people a path to follow or take people to their destinations in life. The emotional aspect of the family is conveyed by the source domain CRYSTAL OF LOVE, and the preciousness of the family is elaborated by describing the family as a valuable commodity that cannot be bought with money.

Furthermore, echoing the research results from the Modern Chinese Corpus, the questionnaire participants also endow FAMILY with features of a physical object and perform human actions upon FAMILY as displayed in the following table 8.18:

Table 8.18: The features of the family object and the human actions received

<b>Family is an object that</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Family is an object that</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>
is warm	131	27	is maintained	6	1
is relaxing	65	10	is thought of first	6	1
is safe	18	2	is fragile	1	0
is protected and guarded	4	3			

The size, form, structure, weight, texture, temperature and physical condition of the family object as well as various human actions received by the family are mentioned through the application of the FAMILY IS AN OBJECT metaphor in the Modern Chinese Corpus, but only four features of the family object and three types of human actions are emphasized in the questionnaire. Close to 33% of the participants describe FAMILY as a warm object while 16% of them declare that FAMILY is relaxing. The family object is safe for 4% of the participants and fragile for only one female participant. The warmth of the family object is associated with emotions in the family, and relaxation and safety are important functions of the family that may impress the participants most, since they are young children at home under the care and protection of their parents or elder relatives. Likewise, the human actions performed upon the family also relate to the emotional attachment to the family and the family's protection and maintenance.

The FAMILY IS A CONTAINER metaphor is another common metaphor found both in the Modern Chinese Corpus and the questionnaire, and NEST, CRADLE and SCHOOL are also shared source domains to specify the family container so as to highlight the protection, education and nurturing functions of the family. Besides, as indicated by the research results of the Modern Chinese Corpus, the general FAMILY IS A CONTAINER metaphor is lexicalized in the Chinese language and can be easily identified by marking the key locational nouns such as 里(lǐ), 中(zhōng), 内(nèi) and 外(wài) and verbs with the meaning of “entering” or “going out”, but the FAMILY IS A CONTAINER metaphor occurs much less frequently in the questionnaire, and the linguistic instantiations of the metaphor are largely marked by the Chinese verb 充满(chōng mǎn) which means “being filled to the full” and appears only one time in the language corpus. A possible reason for the lack of directional verbs and locational nouns of 里(lǐ), 中(zhōng), 内(nèi) and 外(wài) in the participants' replies to mark the FAMILY IS A CONTAINER metaphor is that these words are grammatically inappropriate to complete the Chinese sentence starting with “Family is \_\_\_\_\_” in order to answer the question what family is in the questionnaire. Moreover, the contents in the family container are also less diversified because the participants list out only six types of family contents in table 8.19, among which joy is the most frequently mentioned family content but people and physical objects do not show up as the contents in the family container. It seems that close to 8% of the participants use the FAMILY IS A CONTAINER metaphor to express their happy family life and the trust, sincerity, love and care they receive from their families.

Table 8.19: The concrete family containers and the contents in a family container

<b>Concrete family containers</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Total</b>
nest	9	2	11
cradle	3	2	5
school	1	1	2
<b>Family is a container</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Total</b>

filled with joy	9	2	11
filled with trust	7	2	9
filled with sincerity	7	1	8
filled with love	4	1	5
filled with care	2	1	3
filled with romance	2	0	2

Neither the Modern Chinese Corpus nor the questionnaire participants provide many linguistic instantiations of the FAMILY IS A BUILDING metaphor. The corpus examples of the metaphor focus on the construction of the family building without any specification about the building type but the questionnaire participants prefer to specify the family building into various concrete buildings in the world without mentioning the construction of the building at all. Different functions of the family are conveyed by different types of family buildings, though each type appears only one to three times as shown in table 8.20 below. The family can guide family members into the right life direction as a light house, and store precious memories or special moments in family life as a storage house. The family also serves as a post house or a gas station for family members to rest and fuel the energy to move on and a castle or fortress to protect family members from troubles and hardships in life.

Table 8.20: The concrete buildings as source domains to understand FAMILY

Source domains	Female	Male	Source domains	Female	Male
light house	2	1	storage house	1	0
post house	1	1	fortress	0	1
castle	1	0	gas station	1	0

Similarly, the FAMILY IS A PLANT metaphor does not occur frequently in the Modern Chinese Corpus and the questionnaire, either. Unlike corpus examples of the metaphor that concentrate on the stages of growth and prosperity, the only four examples of the metaphor in the questionnaire results center on the source domain of ROOT without information about the species of the plant. The more specific FAMILY IS ROOT metaphor can reflect the great importance attached to the family because the root as a crucial part of a plant not only determines where the plant is but also absorbs nutrition and water to sustain the life system of a plant, so the family as the root decides a person's origin and provides all necessities for his or her survival. Therefore, the participants greatly emphasize the family's vital function of satisfying people's basic life needs through the use of the FAMILY IS ROOT metaphor.

On the other hand, the linguistic data from both the Modern Chinese Corpus and the questionnaire have verified the wide application of the FAMILY IS A PERSON metaphor and the rare occurrences of metaphors with human body parts as the source domains to conceptualize FAMILY. Compared with the research findings in the Modern Chinese Corpus, the results of the questionnaire have fewer types of human behaviors bestowed to FAMILY, and no human attributes can be found in the participants' abundant linguistic manifestations of the FAMILY IS A PERSON metaphor. Table 8.21 demonstrates that the family as a person can provide a variety of favorable things, among which reliance is mentioned most frequently by the questionnaire participants. Moreover, male participants seem to stress more on the consolation and happiness offered by the family but female participants emphasize more about the family's emotional and communicational roles in terms of providing love, tolerance and intimate

communication, and several female participants regard the family as a messenger who passes down positive energy to the younger generation so that the hurt minds can be cured and good traditions can be inherited.

Table 8.21: The family's human behaviors and body parts as source domains for FAMILY

<b>Family is a person who</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Total</b>
offers reliance	44	5	49
offers love and tolerance	35	2	37
offers support and encouragement	18	4	22
offers intimate communication	14	2	16
offers happiness	10	4	14
offers help and care	9	3	12
offers consolation	3	5	8
passes down positive energy	3	0	3
<b>Family is</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Total</b>
embrace	2	1	3
shoulder	2	0	2
hand	0	1	1

Human body parts show up occasionally as the source domains for FAMILY, and embrace, shoulder and hand listed in table 8.21 are the body parts that can express emotional feelings and perform protective actions, so the family's functions of giving reliance, love, support, protection, help, and comfort to family members are conveyed vividly through the metaphors of FAMILY IS EMBRACE, FAMILY IS SHOULDER and FAMILY IS HAND. In addition, the PART FOR THE WHOLE metonymy may help the generation of these metaphors with human body parts as source domains because the embrace, shoulder and hand involved in the participants' metaphorical understanding of FAMILY in fact metonymically refer to those family members who love, help, support and comfort the participants in their family life.

#### 2.4.2 FAMILY and the Chinese concept of JIA

The questionnaire participants have been requested to write down whatever they can think of when 家(jiā) is mentioned, and their replies are classified and presented in the following table 8.22:

Table 8.22: Elements related to the Chinese concept of FAMILY (JIA)

<b>Family (Jia)-related elements</b>		<b>Frequency</b>		<b>Family(Jia)-related elements</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	
		<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>		<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>
<b>Human</b>	parents	267	47	family members	260	41
	mother	19	6	children	11	1
	father	7	3	relatives	5	2
	spouse	4	0	friends	2	0
	neighbors	1	0	homeless people	1	0
<b>Animal</b>	pets	9	1	dog	2	1

<b>Plant</b>	big tree	6	1	flower	1	0
	sunflower	1	0			
<b>Home furnish- ings</b>	bed	31	10	television	25	1
	sofa	8	1	table	3	0
	furniture	2	0	telephone	2	0
	kitchen	2	0	bedroom	1	1
	room decoration	1	1	computer	1	0
	household appliances	1	0	stereo speaker	1	0
<b>Object</b>	food; meals	118	17	family house	65	8
	harbor	15	3	sunshine	10	1
	money	5	2	nest	5	1
	garden; yard	4	1	holidays	4	1
	sun	4	1	lamplight	4	0
	family photos	4	0	umbrella	3	0
	candle	1	1	automobile	1	1
	habitat	0	2	lighthouse	1	0
	storm	1	0	train	1	0
	brook	1	0	spring wind	1	0
	shore	1	0	moon	1	0
	conch	1	0	book	1	0
	castle	1	0	door	0	1
	wall	0	1			
<b>Concept</b>	warmth	95	12	love	44	7
	family love	25	6	care	18	6
	laugh; smile	21	2	joy	17	6
	happiness	13	7	life	15	3
	comfort	15	2	relaxation	14	3
	responsibility	11	1	harmony	6	5
	reliance	6	4	memory	0	10
	freedom	7	1	childhood	5	1
	power; strength	4	2	safety	3	3
	familiarity	5	0	health	4	1
	calmness; serenity	3	1	help	3	1
	hope	3	1	support	2	2
	relief	3	0	rest	3	0
	hug	3	0	security	3	0
	satisfaction	2	1	marriage	1	2
	trust	2	0	tolerance	2	0
	eternity	2	0	habits	2	0
	sense of belonging	2	0	loneliness	2	0
	gratitude	1	1	wateriness	1	1
	courage	1	1	dedication	1	0
	good mood	1	0	collectivity	1	0
	expectation	1	0	future	1	0
	the past	1	0	taste	0	1

	honesty	1	0	integrity	1	0
	pressure	1	0	emptiness	1	0
	unity	0	1	truth	0	1
<b>Event</b>	family reunion	60	11	chat	5	1

Generally speaking, FAMILY (JIA) is primarily associated with members of a family and pleasant things or concepts because almost two thirds of the participants write down parents and family members as family (jia)-related elements, and most objects and concepts listed in table 8.22 are favorable in nature. The few appearances of negative, undesirable family (jia)-related elements prove again that the questionnaire participants rarely have bitter experience with their families in daily life. It is also discovered that many family(jia)-related objects and concepts are consistent with those source domains for FAMILY discussed earlier, and the extensive connotations of the Chinese concept of FAMILY (JIA) are also verified by those family(jia)-related elements in table 8.22, since the majority of them correspond to propositional components of the cognitive model of JIA constituted by the family built upon blood ties or marriage, familial relations, the family house, the household articles and furnishings, the responsibilities and duties among family members, the material and mental support for family members, and the responsibilities and values of the family members towards the family (Zhou 2011). Therefore, the mention of the key research word 家(jiā) indeed activates the cognitive model of JIA whose propositional components not only come to the participants' minds as family(jia)-related elements but also can serve as source domains for FAMILY with or without the help of metonymy as testified by linguistic evidence from both the Modern Chinese Corpus and the present questionnaire.

Except main family members, things, events and concepts that are impressively connected with the participants' family life usually appear more frequently as family (jia)-related elements. More than one third of the participants think of food or meals, and 15% of the participants think of their family houses and family reunions when 家(jiā) is referred to. The comparatively more times of occurrences of bed and television than those of other household articles may indicate the participants' impression about the family's relaxation aspect. Close to 13% of male participants associate 家(jiā) with memory but no female participants have such association, showing the only gender difference that male participants are more likely to recall their memories when 家(jiā) is mentioned. Abstract concepts such as LOVE, CARE, COMFORT, RESPONSIBILITY and HARMONY appear frequently in the questionnaire results both as family (jia)-related elements and source domains for FAMILY, which reveal the emotional aspect of family life, the functions of the family and the key Chinese family values. Nearly a quarter of the participants refer to WARMTH that in fact derives from love and affection of family members, and the frequent appearances of LAUGH/SMILE, JOY, HAPPINESS, LIFE, RELAXATION and RELIANCE reflect not only the cheerful family life the participants may enjoy but also the family's important roles in their daily life.

#### **2.4.3 The similarities and differences in the understanding of FAMILY between the questionnaire participants and their parents**

The questionnaire participants claim that they have a lot in common with their parents in the understanding of FAMILY as demonstrated in table 8.23, and the general metaphors such as FAMILY IS AN OBJECT, FAMILY IS A CONTAINER, FAMILY IS A BUILDING and FAMILY IS A PERSON

detected in the Modern Chinese Corpus are also in full application while the participants are comparing their interpretations of FAMILY with those of their parents. The warmth and the importance of the family are the most frequently mentioned aspects of the family upon which the participants believe that they and their parents reach an agreement, and various functions of the family are also agreed on by the frequent appearances of LOVE, UNITY, HARBOR, RESPONSIBILITY, RELIANCE, RELAXATION/REST, TRUST, SUPPORT, SHIELD and COMFORT as the source domains for FAMILY. Besides, the Chinese family morality and the Chinese cultural value on family harmony are also rendered as shared similarities in the comprehension of FAMILY. In addition, a little more than 29% of female participants and 19% of male participants deem that they completely share the same conception of FAMILY with their parents, and some of them even declare that they pass on their parents' understanding of FAMILY and hold no objections, which may confirm their parents' substantial influence on these participants' own comprehension of FAMILY.

Table 8.23: The similarities in the understanding of FAMILY between the questionnaire participants and their parents

<b>Family is</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Family is</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>
warm	63	10	the most important thing	45	9
love	48	3	unity	36	7
a harbor	34	6	built up	27	12
maintained	21	11	responsibility	24	2
filled with love and care	19	5	harmonious	17	8
reliance	17	4	filled with happiness	11	4
relaxation and rest	10	4	filled with joy	11	1
trust	8	4	support	9	1
comfort and ease	8	1	accompany	8	1
shield	7	2	homeland for the soul	5	4
treasured and missed	7	1	protected	6	2
power and strength	4	4	help	6	1
happy	5	1	relation	5	1
sense of belonging	4	0	the core of life	3	1
dedication	3	0	freedom	3	0
dependable	2	1	direction of life	2	1
safe	2	1	giving hope	2	0
offering encouragement	2	0	nest	1	1
not self-chosen	1	1	duty	1	0
giving tolerance	1	0	dull	1	0

On the other hand, the questionnaire results indicate that different roles in family life, different ideas about the ideal family and different purposes of setting up a family may lead to differences in the understanding of FAMILY between the questionnaire participants and their parents. More than 70% of the participants regardless of gender report that they see the family as the provider of benefits such as love, protection and (mental and economical) support due to their family role of being the child whereas their parents shoulder up family responsibilities and dedicate themselves selflessly to the protection and maintenance of the

whole family. Half of the participants admit that they contribute little to their families because they still live on their families' help to pursue their studies at the university. About 30% of the participants agree that an ideal family should contain more freedom, equality, democracy, tolerance and respect so that they can enjoy better communication and more personal space, but these participants think that their parents tend to attach more importance to setting up an integrated family to keep their children staying together with them and regulate their family life with strict discipline and enhanced parents' control and authority because of their more traditional views about an ideal family. It seems that one third of the participants' parents adopt the Strict Father model of morality in family life that is not shared by their children who demand a free, equal family environment and do not regard the parents' quarrels and fights at home as suitable ways to relieve emotional pressures or solve family problems. What's more, nearly 10 % of the participants notice that a considerable difference in the understanding of FAMILY lies in the purpose of setting up a family, since a family is set up because of love in their point of view but their parents seem to pay more attention to material or economic conditions rather than love. Meanwhile, these participants also admit that their parents have a deeper understanding about the core of major family affairs, and therefore favor the prosaic and stable family life based on a solid economic foundation, but compared with their parents, these participants are willing to create a better life with a modern and energetic life style with a wish of being less bounded to stability and the ritual routines of family life.

Even though the discussions concerning the similarities and the differences in the understanding of FAMILY are based on the questionnaire participants' opinions and their parents' perspectives on FAMILY are not expressed directly by their parents in person, it is still possible to observe the participants' use of the general metaphors of FAMILY IS AN OBJECT, FAMILY IS A CONTAINER, FAMILY IS A BUILDING and FAMILY IS A PERSON that are widely present in the Modern Chinese Corpus, showing that those metaphors of FAMILY conventionally used in the corpus linguistic materials from the last century are still in use in contemporary China. The key traditional Chinese family values and the Chinese cultural pursuit of harmony, unity and stability are inherited by the participants whose interpretations of FAMILY also reflect the changes in the mode of family relations, family ideals and lifestyles as well as the rise of individuality indicated by their demands for more freedom and personal space in private life.

#### **2.4.4 The impact of modern Chinese society with commodity economy on the conception of FAMILY**

The sustainability of the perception of FAMILY in a particular culture is visible from the questionnaire results, since more than one fifth of the questionnaire participants report that modern Chinese society with commodity economy exerts no impact on the conception of FAMILY, and nearly 9% of them also claim that the impact of the social and economic changes are not powerful enough to influence the understanding of FAMILY because the family still holds an irreplaceable status in people's minds, and love and happiness as the essence of family will never change. However, the majority of the participants indeed notice the changes in the family structure, family relations and people's perceptions of the family as a result of modernization of the country and the development of commodity economy. Nine out of ten participants recognize that modern Chinese families are more or less built on money and material wealth instead of love and responsibility, and people become more interested in



pursuing material possessions that are deemed as the guarantee for having a happy family. The family becomes an economic supporter with its internal power hierarchy based on the economic conditions of family members, so it is not rare to see family members fight each other in order to get a bigger share of family property. Moreover, personal benefits precede family obligations such as taking care of the aged and children which are seen as burdens nobody would like to shoulder willingly, and the fast-paced lifestyle and the increasing pressure in life and at the workplace make people pay less attention to face-to-face communication with their family members, resulting in strained family relations or family estrangement.

Close to 40% of the participants hold a negative view of various new ideas and temptations derived from the development of commodity economy in modern Chinese society, especially those emphasizing on self-realization in terms of financial success and acquirement of material wealth, which in their opinions may greatly weaken the power of traditional Chinese family values and destroy the essence of family. These participants also claim that the traditional family culture is lost, and the traditional perception of the family ideal is disintegrated due to dramatic changes in people's notions of love, marriage and family. The family is less treasured or even neglected with decreasing emotional reliance, and the meaning of having a family is not fully understood. Family harmony is much harder to achieve but family conflicts and frictions are frequent in family life. Therefore, these participants believe that many young Chinese people are reluctant to set up a family because the family is regarded as a heavy burden of responsibility or a tie that restricts personal freedom. Only 9% of the participants are in favor of the modern notions of the family that pay more attention to the equality and freedom in the family, which are considered to be better and more open and humane than the traditional perception of the family constituted by authoritative parents and obedient children. Several participants also point out that the family is a building of love for young Chinese people who were born in the 1990s, so more and more of them choose to set up a family because of love rather than the wish of having children or marriage itself.

Furthermore, about 43% of the participants agree that the forms of family are more diversified as a consequence of social changes and economic development. The traditional big, extended families are fewer in number and nuclear families are more typical nowadays. More and more young Chinese people marry and have children later than their parents, and a growing number of them prefer not to raise children after marriage or plan to remain single for a lifetime. Another 12% of the participants think that the family is not stable but much easier to break than before, so the sense of safety gained from a stable family is fading away due to the rising divorce rate each year. In addition, no obvious gender differences can be found in the questionnaire participants' ideas about the impact of social changes and consumerism on the conception of FAMILY, and participants from both urban and rural families almost share their views about the changes in the patterns of family behavior, structure and perceptions of what a family ought to be in modern Chinese society. It is also discovered that general metaphors of FAMILY IS AN OBJECT, FAMILY IS A CONTAINER, FAMILY IS A PERSON and FAMILY IS A BUILDING are frequently activated along with the use of more specific metaphors of FAMILY IS A COMMODITY, FAMILY IS A BURDEN and FAMILY IS A TIE when the questionnaire participants reason out the effects of social changes and economic development on people's conception of FAMILY, but compared with their answers to other open-end questions, the participants express their opinions on the present concerned issue

with the involvement of much fewer source domains for FAMILY, among which no new source domains show up at all.

### **3. The Chinese cultural model of FAMILY and within-culture variation of metaphor**

A cultural model is a collection of conceptualizations that not only “hierarchically characterize higher nodes of our conceptual knowledge” but also “encompass a network of schemas, categories and metaphors” (Sharifian 2011: 27), and cultural models for abstract concepts can only be constituted by metaphors (Kövecses 2005). The research findings from the linguistic data of the Modern Chinese Corpus and the questionnaire indicate that the Chinese cultural model of FAMILY are mainly constructed by general metaphors of FAMILY IS AN OBJECT, FAMILY IS A CONTAINER, FAMILY IS A PERSON, FAMILY IS A PLANT and FAMILY IS A BUILDING, all of which occur frequently in both the language corpus and the questionnaire participants’ reasoning for the comprehension of FAMILY. The strong hold of the cultural model of FAMILY is testified by the fact that it can override the effects of contextual factors such as gender, family origin (urban or rural in the present research), family income, family structure, family relations, parental roles and modes of family education, since no striking differences in the questionnaire participants’ metaphorical conceptualizations of FAMILY can be perceived due to the differences in these contextual factors mentioned above, and the participants resort to the same metaphors of FAMILY identified in the language corpus to talk about the changes in people’s attitudes and perceptions about the family and family life under the influence of social, economic and cultural reforms in contemporary China.

However, the comparison of research discoveries from the Modern Chinese Corpus and the questionnaire research definitely shows within-culture variation of metaphors of FAMILY, which might be regarded as individual variation in metaphor as a consequence of unique personal life experience and contextual effects (Kövecses 2005). The general metaphors of FAMILY are produced from people’s universal experience of the family and family life, so they are widely used in the Modern Chinese Corpus, but particular individual life experience is usually not shared by others and may motivate metaphors of FAMILY with specific source domains that rarely occur in the language corpus. When answering the question what family is, the questionnaire participants display a strong tendency of using specific source domains to conceptualize FAMILY in contrast to the dominant application of general metaphors of FAMILY in the Modern Chinese Corpus. It is possible to conclude that the participants adopt more comparatively unconventional source domains to understand FAMILY, since most of these specific source domains do not appear in the language corpus, and many of them refer to concrete entities in the physical world. In addition to highlighting different functions of the family in Chinese society, all specific source domains are chosen by virtue of the participants’ individual bodily experience of their families in family life, but special or unique experience of the family and family life may generate metaphors of FAMILY with novel source domains that usually appear only a few times in the questionnaire results.

Moreover, the Chinese culture and the immediate social, physical and communicative settings are important contextual factors that affect the questionnaire participants’ metaphorical understanding of FAMILY. The research data of the language corpus and the questionnaire prove that the key Chinese research word 家(jiā) can activate the cognitive model of JIA suggested by Zhou (2011), which may facilitate the creation of metaphors of FAMILY in Chinese because the propositional constituents of the cognitive model of JIA can be

chosen as source domains for FAMILY with the help of the PART FOR THE WHOLE metonymy. As a result, family moral obligations and family harmony and unity as relatively stable Chinese cultural values are components of the cognitive model of JIA that are not only detectable from people's perceptions of the family and the family ideal but also used frequently by the questionnaire participants as source domains to comprehend the concept of FAMILY. Furthermore, a particular source domain is selected when it becomes more salient under certain circumstances (Kövecses 2005), so the questionnaire participants' distinct preference for the metaphorical understanding of FAMILY as a safe place or a harbor may clearly reveal the contextual effects on people's metaphorical thinking. As discussed earlier, most participants need to leave their parents and manage their life and study on campus independently, and they have to face academic pressure and changes in their physical environment and social circles at university all by themselves, but they usually enjoy a happy family life and receive love and support from their natal families, so it is natural for them to regard FAMILY as a safe place for rest and protection when FAMILY is the communication topic. The selection of HARBOR as the source domain for FAMILY also emphasizes the important function of the family as a safe place where they can relax and obtain protection and support from their family members, which might become the most conspicuous and impressive aspect of the participants' experience of the family and family life. Therefore, the FAMILY IS A HARBOR metaphor can be classified as a "context-induced metaphor" (Kövecses 2015) motivated by contextual factors of the participants' immediate social, physical and communicative settings.

#### 4. Conclusion

The questionnaire research demonstrates that the commonly used source domains such as OBJECT, CONTAINER, PERSON, PLANT and BUILDING in the Modern Chinese Corpus are also adopted frequently by the questionnaire participants to metaphorically understand the FAMILY concept, and most of the concrete source domains for FAMILY identified from the language corpus show up in the questionnaire results as well, which may indicate that most metaphors of FAMILY at both generic-level and specific-level that were used in the past century are still actively employed in the early twenty-first century, and the Chinese cultural model of FAMILY constituted by general metaphors of FAMILY IS AN OBJECT, FAMILY IS A CONTAINER, FAMILY IS A PERSON, FAMILY IS A PLANT and FAMILY IS A BUILDING has a strong hold on the Chinese metaphorical conceptualizations of FAMILY despite the remarkable structural and ideological changes in the family institution in contemporary Chinese society. With a more extensive scope of application than the English word *family*, the key Chinese research word 家(jiā) usually triggers the activation of the cognitive model of JIA whose components may become source domains for FAMILY with the help of metonymic reasoning, and the key Chinese cultural values of family harmony and stability, moral obligations towards the family and among family members along with family love and emotional attachment are not only highlighted constituents of the cognitive model of JIA to express the Chinese family ideal but also frequently serve as source domains for FAMILY in the questionnaire research data.

Moreover, no conspicuous differences in the questionnaire participants' metaphorical understanding of FAMILY can be detected owing to the differences in gender, family origin, family structure and income, intrafamilial relations, parenting styles and modes of family education which are supposed to be important contextual factors in a person's bodily

experience of the family and family life that might affect his or her metaphorical comprehension of the FAMILY concept. The strong influence of the cultural model of FAMILY is thus verified again, and the importance of contextual effects on people's metaphorical conceptualizations of FAMILY can be confirmed by the questionnaire participants' explicit preference for the FAMILY IS A HARBOR metaphor which does not appear in the Modern Chinese Corpus at all but may qualify as a context-induced specific metaphor motivated by the contextual factors of the participants' living situation on campus and their family experience at home. Besides, unlike the dominance of general source domains of OBJECT, CONTAINER, PERSON, PLANT and BUILDING in the Modern Chinese Corpus, the questionnaire data show a notable tendency of the participants to interpret FAMILY metaphorically as a safe place and produce metaphors of FAMILY with specific source domains usually referring to physical entities in the world, which can also be regarded as a result of contextual effects of the participants' immediate social, physical and communicative settings where they make sense of the FAMILY concept.

What's more, metaphors of FAMILY exhibit within-culture variation only at the specific-level in the present questionnaire research, since the general source domains for FAMILY discovered in the Modern Chinese Corpus are shared by the participants to understand FAMILY metaphorically, but specific source domains for FAMILY are often chosen on grounds of individual, special experience of the family and family life that might not be shared by others. So, most metaphors of FAMILY with specific source domains identified from the questionnaire data do not occur in the language corpus, and some of them are even rarely used by the questionnaire participants. Compared with those source domains for FAMILY in the language corpus, the participants seem to adopt a lot of different and novel concrete source domains to conceptualize FAMILY but many of these source domains are also propositional components of the Chinese cognitive model of JIA, which may reveal the great influence of cultural traditions on the metaphorical understanding of FAMILY, even though people's attitudes and perceptions about the family are undergoing changes on account of social and cultural changes in contemporary China. The longevity and sustainability of the Chinese cultural model of FAMILY and the deep-rooted Chinese traditional family values may underlie the participants' active use of those metaphors of FAMILY found in the language corpus, but comparatively novel source domains for FAMILY are activated due to their particular experience of family life and personal feelings towards their families.

In addition, the questionnaire participants largely agree that attaching great importance to the family is a Chinese tradition, but most of them are fully aware of significant changes in the Chinese family perceived by sociologists, such as the erosion of the traditional family values and the family ideal, the reduced emphasis on family loyalty and kinship obligations, the dominance of the nuclear family, the centrality of conjugality, the decline of parental authority and power and the rise of individuality in domestic life (Yan 2009; Zang 2008, 2011). Moreover, the development of commodity economy in modern Chinese society brings consumerism with the flow of material goods and cultural products as well as new social perils of the widespread corruption, the fetishization of money and the commodification of personal relations (Yan 2009), which can considerably affect family affiliation, conventional kinship ties and moral values, the family power hierarchy and the purpose of setting up a family as introspected by the questionnaire participants. The questionnaire results also demonstrate that Lakoff's Nurturant Parent model of morality is more dominant and desirable in respect of family management, parenting style and mode of family education but the Strict

Father model of morality is also present and more preferred in male participants' natal families, which may suggest that Chinese parents are stricter with sons than daughters and the traditional family ethics does not disappear totally, though the more democratic pattern of parent-child relationship has taken the place of the Confucian patriarchal authority of the family head in many parts of China nowadays (Song 2006).

Despite these informative discoveries from the present questionnaire research, the comparability of the research data coming from two different types of sources may still remain a debatable issue without persuading answers. The lack of a comparable language corpus forces the author of the present dissertation to resort to other methods of data collection but future research may avoid such problem if a ready-made language corpus is available, and cross-linguistic questionnaire studies about the conception of FAMILY can also be conducted in the future to investigate the cross-cultural similarities and differences in people's figurative conceptualizations of the FAMILY concept.

## **Chapter Nine: Interviews about the Conception of FAMILY among the Chinese Immigrants in Budapest, Hungary**

The research findings from the Modern Chinese Corpus and the questionnaire study of FAMILY have suggested that the Chinese cultural model of FAMILY is based on the cognitive model of JIA and composed of general metaphors such as FAMILY IS AN OBJECT, FAMILY IS A CONTAINER, FAMILY IS A PERSON, FAMILY IS A PLANT and FAMILY IS A BUILDING, and the majority of those source domains for FAMILY in the corpus materials from the last century are still used by the young Chinese people in contemporary China due to the strong hold of the Chinese cultural model of FAMILY and the traditional Chinese family values. Even though substantial structural and ideological changes in the institution of family have not completely transformed the Chinese metaphorical conceptualizations of the FAMILY concept in the present research, with-culture metaphor variation can be observed from those specific-level metaphors of FAMILY employed by the young Chinese questionnaire participants, since “the universality of experiential basis does not necessarily lead to universally equivalent conceptualization—at least not at the specific level” (Kövecses 2006: 171), and people may adopt differential metaphors deriving from individual “experiences that do not conform to conventional patterns captured by conventional conceptual metaphors” (Kövecses 2005: 107).

Moreover, the immediate social, physical and communicative settings may motivate context-induced metaphors of FAMILY that do not exist in the language corpus, a phenomenon deserving further investigation about the contextual effects on the Chinese metaphorical comprehension of FAMILY. According to Kövecses (2005, 2010a), geographic region is another important dimension of metaphor variation, and a new socio-physical environment may lead to new activities and experiences that trigger the creation of new metaphors or creative metaphorical expressions because people living in a certain kind of habitat “will be attuned (mostly unconsciously) to things and phenomena that are characteristic of that habitat, and they will make use of these things and phenomena for the metaphorical comprehension and creation of their conceptual universe” (Kövecses 2010a: 219-220). Thus, it is promising to explore those metaphors of FAMILY used by the Chinese immigrants who live in Budapest, Hungary so as to discover the crucial contextual effects of culture, society and the physical environment where the concept of FAMILY is interpreted.

The lack of any comparable language corpora and the difficulty to conduct a counterpart questionnaire study in Budapest have resulted in the utilization of interviewing as a compromising solution for the continuation of the present research. Besides, as a socially accepted method of data collection, interviewing has made a significant contribution to social science research and linguistic studies of metaphor (see Quinn 1996, 2005; Cao 2005; Ho 2006; Dörnyei 2007; Talmy 2010; Alshenqeeti 2014). Therefore, a series of interviews are conducted among the Chinese immigrants in Budapest in order to answer the following questions: 1) How do the Chinese immigrants in Hungary understand the concept of FAMILY? 2) Do they share the same metaphors of FAMILY with their fellow people living in China? 3) What are the changes in the Chinese immigrants’ metaphorical conceptualizations of FAMILY as a result of immigration? Special attention is paid to the contextual effects of the Hungarian

culture, the new socio-physical environment in Budapest and the Chinese family traditions on the Chinese immigrants' conception of FAMILY.

## **1. The interviewees and design of the interview questions**

The interviews about the Chinese immigrants' conception of FAMILY were carried out in the year 2014, and the current interviewing research was introduced into a local Chinese community in Budapest through the help of several Chinese immigrant friends. Twenty nine participants volunteered to be interviewees, among whom ten were males and nineteen were females. All interviewees were Chinese immigrants who could speak fluent Mandarin Chinese and had lived in Budapest at least for five years when the current research started, and many of them were the first generation of the Chinese immigrants who had been living in Budapest for more than ten or twenty years. It was intended to recruit research participants with a minimum length of stay in Hungary for five years in view of revealing the influence of a foreign culture on a person's metaphorical conceptualizations of FAMILY that might not be obviously seen if this person only paid a short visit to a foreign country.

The interviews are semi-structured with five major sets of open-ended questions as presented in appendix 9, and all questions are designed in a similar way as those in the questionnaire study of FAMILY carried out in China for the sake of comparison. The Chinese character 家(jiā) serves as the key research word, and the first three sets of interview questions aim to obtain the basic personal and family information of the interviewees, including age, gender, educational background, family origin, family structure, family income, parental roles, family education pattern, profession in Hungary and the level of the Hungarian language, all of which contribute to people's bodily experience of family life and can function as contextual factors that may affect people's metaphorical understanding of FAMILY. The detection of the family models of morality proposed by Lakoff is also taken into consideration when designing the interview questions in relation to parenting styles and intrafamilial relations. The last two sets of interview questions are created to discover how the concept of FAMILY is understood by the Chinese immigrants, what come to their mind if 家(jiā) is mentioned as well as their reflections about the traditional Chinese family values and the changes in the conception of FAMILY as a consequence of immigration along with the social and economic reforms, with the propose of uncovering the influence of the cognitive model of JIA, the Chinese cultural model of FAMILY and the contextual effects of the cultural, social and physical settings upon the Chinese immigrants' metaphorical conceptualizations of FAMILY.

## **2. The procedure and results of the interviews**

The language of the interviews was modern Mandarin Chinese, and each interview for a single interviewee took about thirty minutes. All interviewees were informed about the interview topic and encouraged to share their personal experience of family life and their opinions about the conception of FAMILY but they were not instructed to provide metaphors of FAMILY deliberately. All interviews were anonymous and audio-recorded digitally, and the verbatim transcription<sup>21</sup> of these interviews served as the source of the linguistic research

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<sup>21</sup> All interviews were transcribed by the researcher and checked by two Chinese immigrant assistants who helped to

data for manual identification of the source domains for FAMILY and further discussion about research findings in comparison to those from the Modern Chinese Corpus and the questionnaire study. The possibility to uncover gender differences in metaphorical thinking is not excluded, so research results are presented in diagrams with gender classification and detailed analysis.

## 2.1 The personal information and family origin of the interviewees

It is discovered that all interviewees only have an elementary level of the Hungarian language, and they were once local people of big cities in China before they immigrated to Hungary. Male interviewees are from Zhejiang, Shanxi, Beijing, Heilongjiang and Liaoning, while female interviewees come from Tianjin, Heilongjiang, Fujian, Sichuan, Zhejiang, Shanghai, Beijing, Liaoning, Shanxi, and Jiangsu, all of which are major Chinese provinces or municipalities directly under the leadership of China's central government. Table 9.1 below shows that three quarters of the interviewees are middle-aged Chinese immigrants between 40 to 60 years old, and more than half of the interviewees have a Bachelor's degree. Male interviewees all hold jobs and business is their most preferred profession. Female interviewees tend to take jobs from both business and education domains but three of them are unemployed housewives who take care of the whole family. It is clear that these Chinese immigrants are not outcasts in Budapest, since the majority of them have already successfully managed to make a living as normal tax payers in the foreign society.

Table 9.1: The personal information of the interviewees

Personal information		Female	Male
Age	20-30 years old	1	1
	31-40 years old	2	0
	41-50 years old	6	2
	51-60 years old	8	6
	61-70 years old	2	1
Educational background	hold a Doctor's degree	0	1
	hold a Master's degree	1	1
	hold a Bachelor's degree	9	5
	junior college graduate	2	2
	technical secondary school graduate	2	1
	high school graduate	2	0
	junior high school graduate	3	0
Profession	student	0	1
	teacher	6	1
	business	6	5
	translator	0	1
	hospital doctor	0	1
	company employee	2	0
	retired	2	1
	unemployed	3	0



## 2.2 The interviewees' family structure and family situation

As demonstrated in the following table 9.2, almost two thirds of the interviewees have more than two siblings because the “one-child” policy did not exist in China until the end of the 1970s. However, married interviewees do not display a tendency of having more children after immigration, since more than 90% of them only have one or two children in marriage. Half of male interviewees have two children and close to 60% of female interviewees have only one child. Most interviewees report that they choose to raise only one or two children because of economic concerns and hard struggles in the early years of their immigrant life when they could not spare time and energy to raise more children at all, and they had past the golden years to give birth to more children after their life was stable and bettered off. Young, single interviewees put more emphasis on the development of their careers without considering the issue of marriage. The nuclear family is the most typical family pattern for the Chinese immigrants because about two thirds of interviewees grow up in nuclear families with working parents and set up their own nuclear families after marriage. The traditional extended Chinese families with three or four generations living together do not totally disappear but such families are gradually reducing in number.

Table 9.2: The family information of the interviewees

<b>The interviewees' family information</b>		<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>
<b>Number of siblings</b>	more than two	11	7
	two	3	2
	one	4	0
	zero	1	1
<b>Do both parents have jobs?</b>	both had jobs	16	8
	only father had a job	3	2
<b>Natal family's monthly income in RMB</b>	less than 500	8	6
	less than 1000	1	0
	less than 2000	1	1
	2000-3000	2	1
	3000-4000	3	1
	4000-5000	2	1
	more than 5000	2	0
<b>Natal family's structure</b>	three generations live together	4	2
	grow up with grandparents	1	0
	nuclear family	12	8
	single parent	2	0
<b>Marital status</b>	married	15	9
	single	2	1
	divorced	2	0
<b>Number of children in marriage</b>	more than two	1	0
	two	4	5
	one	11	4
	zero	1	0
<b>Family (you have</b>	three generation live together	3	1

<b>now) structure</b>	nuclear family	12	8
	single parent	2	0
<b>Family (you have now) monthly income in euros</b>	less than 500	2	0
	less than 1000	5	1
	less than 2000	7	3
	2000-3000	1	2
	3000-4000	0	1
	4000-5000	0	1
	more than 5000	2	1

More than 80% of the interviewees stay in marriage, and married male interviewees all have intact families but female interviewees tend to suffer more from divorce. In the aspect of the family's economic situation, nearly half of the interviewees were born into families without a high monthly income in China, and two thirds of the interviewees have monthly family income above 1000 euros, indicating that they might be bettered off than their parents but they are not rich immigrants in Budapest, since more than one third of them earn less than 2000 euros each month. Moreover, more female than male interviewees have the low monthly family income of less than 1000 euros, so female interviewees' families on average are comparatively poorer with a lower income than those of male interviewees. Besides, Chinese men usually shoulder up more responsibilities in making money for their families according to the traditional Chinese custom. If a family has only one working parent, it is the father who takes a job to support the family as the main contributor of the family's monthly income.

### 2.3 The family education mode and parental roles in family life

The changes in the mode of family education and parental roles in family life are also observed from the interviewees' replies as shown in table 9.3 below, which can reflect clearly the waning of the traditional Strict Father model of morality and the rising preference for the Nurturant Parent model of morality in the Chinese family in respect of intrafamilial relations and parenting styles. The dominance of the Strict Father model of morality is conspicuous in those interviewees' natal families because 80% of male interviewees and half of female interviewees regard their parents as strict, authoritative family heads, and 60% of male interviewees and 53% of female interviewees have received their family education with absolute, unquestionable parental authority or strict discipline with punishment. However, the adoption of the Nurturant Parent model of morality is also visible in the interviewees' natal families, since close to one third of their parents take a nurturing and helpful role, and 41% of their parents are able to hold peaceful family talks and offer timely help.

Table 9.3 Parental roles and family education patterns of the interviewees

<b>Parental roles and family education patterns</b>		<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>
<b>Parental roles in natal family</b>	authoritative leaders with strict rules	11	7
	gentle friends that can communicate	6	3
	indifferent money makers	2	0
	the most familiar strangers	1	1
<b>Parents'</b>	strict discipline with punishment	0	3

<b>education patterns in natal family</b>	absolute authority without tolerance of questioning	10	3
	peaceful discussions with timely help	7	5
	free style education without interference	3	1
	spoiling children by satisfying all their requests	2	0
<b>Parental roles in the family after marriage</b>	a friend who communicates freely	8	8
	authoritative leader	0	1
	economic pillar	0	2
	model for children	9	4
	strict ruler	0	1
	considerate intimate	3	2
<b>Parents' education patterns in the family after marriage</b>	footstone for family stability	2	2
	employ strict disciplines and punish mistakes	1	3
	pay more attention to moral education, self-discipline and independent character	11	8
	peacefully discuss about problems and provide timely help	6	3
	respect children's choices and offer them free space for self-development	3	4
	no interference and full control; give freedom to children	1	0

On the other hand, the interviewees' own families after marriage exhibit overt features of the Nurturant Parent model of morality. More than half of all interviewees regardless of gender would like to become their own children's communicative friends. Even though the interviewees' parents are stricter with male interviewees, only two male interviewees wish to resume the parental role of an authoritative leader or a strict ruler of the family, but female interviewees prefer to drop the traditional authoritative role completely in family life and behave as a close friend to their children instead. Moreover, parental authority is downplayed in the interviewees' own families after marriage, and nearly a quarter of the interviewees are willing to respect their children's individual choices and give freedom to their children for self-development. Meanwhile, the strong influence of the Strict Father model of morality still remains in the interviewees' mode of family education, since almost half of the interviewees want to be the model for their children, and around two thirds of them acknowledge the importance of moral education, self-discipline and the cultivation of independent character. The reciprocal father-son relationship is believed to be paradigmatic in the traditional Chinese family with Confucian morality, where the father functions as a moral exemplar of ethical principles and teaches morality through modeling (Starr 2010). Therefore, the interviewees' preference of serving as the model for their children reflects the sustainability of Confucian family ethics. Close to 14% of the interviewees share the opinion about the necessity of strict discipline and punishment for mistakes with their parents and emphasize the parental role of maintaining family stability which is highly valued in the Chinese culture. The rise of individuality in domestic life, the deep rooted traditional Chinese family values and the practical need of surviving in a foreign country may interact to shape the parenting styles and intrafamilial relations in those interviewees' families.

## 2.4 The interviewees' understanding of FAMILY and the Chinese cognitive model of JIA

When the interviewees answered the question ‘what is family?’, some of them applied several source domains to make sense of FAMILY while others activated only one source domain in their answers. All source domains for FAMILY and the numbers of their occurrences in the interviews are listed in the following table 9.4:

Table 9.4: The source domains used by the interviewees to conceptualize FAMILY

Source domains	Female	Male	Source domains	Female	Male
safe harbor	10	7	possessed object	1	1
place to rest and relax	5	4	private territory	0	2
warmth	4	4	prop	2	0
happiness	5	1	motive power	0	1
responsibility	2	3	cozy nest	0	1
harmony	2	1	cradle	0	1
home for heart and soul	1	2	healing haven	1	0
shelter	2	0	delicious meal	1	0
building	0	2	harvest	1	0
love	1	1	core	0	1
care	1	1	tolerance	1	0
sincere companion	1	1	sacrifice	0	1
heavy burden	1	1	starting point	0	1

Like what have been discovered in the questionnaire study of FAMILY among the young Chinese people, the Chinese immigrant interviewees also display a clear tendency of understanding FAMILY through specific-level metaphors rather than those general metaphors that dominate the Modern Chinese Corpus. What's more, the interviewees also share the questionnaire participants' preference of conceptualizing FAMILY metaphorically as a safe place for rest and relaxation, with HARBOR being the most favorite concrete source domain for FAMILY regardless of gender.

As the most frequently used source domain in table 9.4, HARBOR was often the first source domain mentioned by the interviewees when they applied more than one source domain to talk about FAMILY in the interviews. The employment of the FAMILY IS A HARBOR metaphor also triggers the activation of the LIFE AS A JOURNEY metaphor, with its mappings specified by the interviewees as follows: 1) IMMIGRATION TO HUNGARY IS A SAILING JOURNEY; 2) DIFFICULTIES AND HARDSHIPS OF IMMIGRANT LIFE ARE STRONG WINDS AND HEAVY RAINS; 3) HUMAN BEINGS ARE SHIPS/BOATS. Immigration naturally involves an outbound journey and an ongoing process of adapting to the new cultural, social and physical circumstances that may demand immigrants' great efforts to overcome a variety of obstacles and challenges in their everyday life in other countries, so the FAMILY IS A HARBOR metaphor is the “context-induced” (Kövecses 2015) metaphor preferred by both the Chinese immigrants and the questionnaire participants to express the difficulties to survive in a different living environment and emphasize the family's crucial function of providing safety and protection for family members. Similarly, their shared perception of the family as a safe place for rest also highlights the sense of safety and the relaxing environment offered by the family, and people's strong affiliation to the family is conveyed through the metaphorical understanding

of FAMILY as the home for heart and soul where people do not need to disguise or pretend but can receive sincere help and support from their families.

WARMTH is frequently used by the immigrant interviewees as a source domain for FAMILY, and it also appears in the Modern Chinese Corpus and the questionnaire research as the feature of the family object. Feeling warm is the physical effect from responding to the emotion of love or affection, so the EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy helps to build up the AFFECTION/LOVE IS WARMTH metaphor. The emotional bonds between family members and the family's function of satisfying people's emotional needs are stressed by the FAMILY IS WARMTH metaphor because the warmth of family love can only come from family members who are expected to love and support each other. Like in the questionnaire research, the key constituents of the cognitive model of JIA such as happiness, responsibility and harmony also occur many times in the interviews as source domains for FAMILY, which may reflect the influence of the traditional Chinese family values.

Moreover, most specific source domains in table 9.4 also exist in the research results of the questionnaire and the Modern Chinese Corpus, showing that many specific-level metaphors of FAMILY used in the last century are still used by the Chinese people in China nowadays and the immigrant communities in Hungary as well. The positive aspects of the family are always in focus, since very few unappealing specific source domains show up in the questionnaire and the interviews, and the protecting, soothing and nurturing functions of the family are constantly highlighted in the interviews through the application of source domains of HARBOR, SHELTER, HAVEN, NEST and CRADLE. On the other hand, the conventional general metaphors of FAMILY do not occur so frequently in the interviewees' replies to the question 'what family is'. The FAMILY IS A PLANT metaphor does not show up and the FAMILY IS A POSSESSED OBJECT metaphor appears only two times. The metaphorical comprehension of FAMILY as a sincere companion is a specification of the FAMILY IS A PERSON metaphor. The mention of the Chinese verb 建设(jiàn shè) (construct; build up) indicates the use of the FAMILY IS A BUILDING metaphor without details of the building but the family building is also elaborated as a shelter by two female interviewees. Much more concrete physical buildings are involved as source domains for FAMILY in the questionnaire research than in the present interviews.

In addition to those shared source domains depicting various functions of the family and the emotional aspects of family life, gender differences can be observed from the interviewees' choices of source domains, and the reasons for such differences may lie in the differential gender roles in family life according to the Chinese traditions. Male interviewees select source domains such as BUILDING, PRIVATE TERRITORY, STARTING POINT, CORE, NEST, CRADLE, SACRIFICE and MOTIVE POWER to express the importance of the family and their familial duties, since Chinese men customarily take on more responsibilities to establish, protect and maintain the family as the major economic supporter. However, the source domains of SHELTER, PROP, HAVEN, DELICIOUS MEAL, HARVEST, and TOLERANCE chosen by female interviewees not only concentrate on the reward, support and emotional reliance they can obtain from their families but also reveal Chinese women's traditional family roles of managing housework and taking care of family members in the family routines of daily life.

Furthermore, some interviewees speak out only one family(jia)-related element upon the reference of 家(jiā) while others make a list of family(jia)-related elements, all of which are grouped into table 9.5 below:

Table 9.5: Elements related to the Chinese concept of FAMILY (JIA)

<b>Family (Jia)-related elements</b>		<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>
<b>Human</b>	parents	2	4
	children	2	1
	relatives	2	0
	spouse	1	0
	lovers	1	0
<b>Animal</b>	pet dog	1	0
<b>Object</b>	family house and things inside	7	1
	family meals; favorite food	4	2
	lamp	1	1
	bed	2	0
	roads in hometown	1	0
	stove	1	0
<b>Place</b>	kitchen	2	0
	refuge	2	0
	yard outside the family house	1	0
	park	1	0
<b>Concept</b>	warmth	1	2
	joy	2	1
	responsibility	0	2
	habit	0	1
	natural feelings	0	1
	care	1	0
<b>Event</b>	happy events of family life	6	2
	family reunion	4	1
	chat	2	1
	quarrel	2	1

Similar to the questionnaire research findings, the family(jia)-related elements identified from the interviews cover various aspects of family life and illustrate both the activation and the strong hold of the cognitive model of JIA on the Chinese people's mind when 家(jiā) is referred to. In the interviews, family members, the household articles and residence, the familial relations and responsibilities along with the key Chinese family values are frequently mentioned family(jia)-related elements that are consistent with the propositional components of the cognitive model of JIA. Some of family(jia)-related elements such as family meal, warmth and responsibility are also used by the interviewees as source domains for FAMILY, proving again that the components of the cognitive model of JIA are potential source domains to conceptualize FAMILY metaphorically in the Chinese minds. Moreover, the influence of cognitive model of JIA may also explain the discovery that the interviewees share most of their family(jia)-related elements with those of the questionnaire participants, even though the interviews do not generate so many family-related elements as the questionnaire research due to the much smaller number of available interviewees.

In addition, the majority of the family(jia)-related elements in table 9.5 are not unfavorable in nature, indicating that the majority of the interviewees are in happy family life

like those questionnaire participants. Family(jia)-related elements such as the core members of the family, the family house, the family food, emotional concepts and the key Chinese family values that occur many times in the interviews also appear frequently in the questionnaire research because they are impressive aspects of the family and family life shared by most of the interviewees and the questionnaire participants. Besides, it is possible to detect gender differences as well, since only female interviewees associate FAMILY(JIA) with a variety of places, among which kitchen is neither mentioned by male interviewees nor by male questionnaire participants. Female interviewees also tend to think more about the household articles and family events as family(jia)-related elements but only male interviewees think of responsibility in this regard. These gender differences to some degree reflect the differential gender roles in the Chinese family.

## **2.5 The interviewees' cultural understanding of FAMILY**

The interview results concerning the Chinese immigrants' cultural understanding of FAMILY have a lot in common with those discoveries from the questionnaire research conducted among Chinese university students, which may verify the Chinese culture's profound influence on the Chinese people's comprehension of FAMILY despite the considerable changes in the Chinese immigrants' living environment in Hungary. All interviewees and more than 90% of the questionnaire participants confirm that it is a tradition for the Chinese people to attach great importance to the family, and several interviewees even consider the adherence to this tradition as a moral virtue. The Chinese cultural values on the family are repeated by every interviewee to support their views regardless of gender and family background, and the traditional Chinese philosophy, the Confucian beliefs, the traditional cultural values on respecting the old and loving the young, more than five thousand years of civilization and history, the family love and blood bonds as well as the education focusing on collectivism and family ties are all deemed as the origins of the Chinese tradition of valuing the family in the interviews, revealing that the Chinese cultural values and family ethics are deeply embedded in the minds of native Chinese speakers.

Moreover, the interviewees also share their ideas with those of the questionnaire participants regarding the impact of the modern society with commodity economy upon the traditional family values and the conception of FAMILY. Only three female and two male interviewees believe that the dramatic changes in modern Chinese society with the development of commodity economy exert no impact on the traditional Chinese family values and the notion of FAMILY because people in China can keep the tradition to attach great importance to the family owing to Confucian teachings that lay great stress on the family's crucial roles in people's daily life. However, the majority of the interviewees and the questionnaire participants are aware of the profound impact brought by social and economic changes upon people's understanding of FAMILY and the traditional family values. The changes in the family structure and family life style are mentioned most frequently by many interviewees who have taken notice of the decline of the traditional extended family, the nuclearization of the household, the diversification of family types as well as the rise of individuality in domestic life in contemporary China.

Around 80% of the interviewees have observed the ideological changes that may erode the traditional Chinese family values, and they claim that materialism has become the major characteristic of modern Chinese society where money is the symbol of success. The

traditional moral virtues are losing power and people are obsessed with the accumulation of material wealth, which lead to changes in people's perceptions of the family. As a result, to set up a family is even seen as a quick way to gain more financial interests, and extramarital affairs and uncontrolled desire for making money become the main reasons for the collapse of a family. Family ties are also weakened because people are more indifferent to family love and the needs of their family members under the pressures of the heavy work load and the fast paced life in modern society. What's more, young people are reluctant to take family responsibilities at an early age, and they tend to give priority to their individual interests rather than the collective interests of their families because of the growing individuality in modern China. In addition, about 10% of the interviewees agree that the traditional Chinese family values are not overthrown completely, since the key Chinese cultural values on the family and the Chinese family ethics are still at work in contemporary Chinese families.

On the other hand, a few interviewees point out that the Chinese immigrants do not hold the traditional Chinese family values at all because they are uprooted from their native land, but close to 90% of the interviewees maintain that the Chinese immigrants put even greater importance on the family than those Chinese people living in China because they rely more on their families and closer familial relations to survive in a foreign country due to the isolation resulted from limited involvement in the mainstream social and cultural activities of the local communities in the immigration country. Besides, the Chinese family traditions and moral values are taught together with the Chinese language in the Chinese immigrants' families to keep their Chinese identity, so the younger generation will not totally abandon the Chinese traditions. However, about 15% of the interviewees also admit the weakening power of the traditional Chinese family values among the second generation of the Chinese immigrants, since the immigrants' descendents born overseas might not have the same family values and attach so much importance to the family as their parents do, but they usually show a stronger consciousness of independence and cultural adaptation under the influence of the local school education and the foreign culture.

It is noted that the interviewees constantly adopt general metaphors of FAMILY IS AN OBJECT, FAMILY IS A CONTAINER and FAMILY IS A BUILDING to express their opinions about the issues concerned but neither specific nor new, creative source domains are employed in their cultural understanding of FAMILY. The interviewees do not make any comments about the Hungarian family culture, since they acknowledge that they have closer connections with the local Chinese communities rather than the Hungarian citizens in social life, and their basic level of the Hungarian language also restricts them from participating in the mainstream Hungarian socio-cultural activities so as to acquire a better understanding of the Hungarian culture and Hungarian family ethics. Therefore, no conspicuous influence of the Hungarian culture upon the Chinese immigrants' metaphorical conceptualizations of FAMILY can be detected from the results of the present interviewing research.

### **3. Conclusion**

Based on detailed analyses about the research findings of the interviews, it is possible to conclude that the Chinese immigrants make sense of the abstract concept of FAMILY through the Chinese cognitive model of JIA and the cultural model of FAMILY that is largely composed by general metaphors of FAMILY IS AN OBJECT, FAMILY IS A CONTAINER, FAMILY IS A PERSON, FAMILY IS A PLANT and FAMILY IS A BUILDING. The strong influence of both cognitive model of



JIA and the cultural model of FAMILY may underlie the similarities found in the research results from the questionnaire and the interviewing studies about the FAMILY concept. Both the Chinese immigrant interviewees and the questionnaire participants tend to use specific-level metaphors to express their individual understanding of FAMILY in their answers to the question 'what family is' but rely on generic-level metaphors that constitute the cultural model of FAMILY to explain the impact of modern social changes resulting from the development of commodity economy on people's conception of FAMILY. Individuals may activate more than one source domains simultaneously to highlight various functions of the family in daily life, and abstract concepts representing the key family values in the Chinese culture are also used frequently as source domains for FAMILY. Many specific source domains are shared by the Chinese immigrant interviewees and the questionnaire participants to understand FAMILY metaphorically, and emotional concepts become source domains for FAMILY through the help of metonymy.

Moreover, the Chinese immigrant interviewees and the questionnaire participants are aware of the waning of the traditional Chinese family values as well as the structural and ideological changes in the institution of family in contemporary China, but remarkable changes in the family ideal, family patterns and intrafamilial relations are not necessarily followed by a radical break with the Chinese cultural traditions along with salient changes in the Chinese metaphorical conceptualizations of FAMILY. It seems that the majority of those metaphors of FAMILY discovered in the Modern Chinese Corpus that consists of linguistic materials from the last century are still active and prevalent in use nowadays among the Chinese people at home and abroad, which may further prove the strong hold of the Chinese cultural model of FAMILY on the minds of native Chinese speakers. The Chinese culture as an important contextual factor can affect the Chinese people's choices of source domains for FAMILY so deeply that the contextual effects of age, educational background, profession, parenting style, family income and family structure can be overridden. Men and women share many source domains in their metaphorical understanding of FAMILY but they may choose different specific source domains to emphasize different functions of the family or different aspects of family life due to their differential roles in the Chinese family.

Even though a culture's key family values remain comparatively stable and dominant among members of the same culture, alterations in physical settings and socio-cultural environment may lead to the salience of certain particular source domains in metaphorical conceptualization and the generation of context-induced metaphors of FAMILY. The idea of SAFE PLACE is highly stressed by both the Chinese immigrants in Hungary and the questionnaire participants in China in their metaphorical comprehension of FAMILY because they share the situation of dealing with life's obstacles by themselves in order to survive in a new living environment, and their families are desirable places where they can acquire safety, support and comfort. Similarly, their mutual preference of conceptualizing FAMILY through the source domain of HARBOR also underlines the family's functions of offering help, protection and place for rest. Neither the FAMILY IS A SAFE PLACE metaphor nor the FAMILY IS A HARBOR metaphor appears in the Modern Chinese Corpus but both of them can be regarded as context-induced metaphors created under the contextual effects of the immediate physical, socio-cultural and communicative settings.

The results of the interviews and the questionnaire also indicate the coexistence of Lakoff's two family models of morality in contemporary Chinese families. The parenting style of the interviewees' parents shows more features of the Strict Father model of morality

but the Nurturant Parent model of morality is more preferred by the Chinese immigrant interviewees and the questionnaire participants, since most of them would like to be helpful friends of their children rather than strict parents with absolute authority. The changes in parental roles, intrafamilial relations and family education mode can be seen as a response to the ideological changes in people's perceptions of the family and the rise of individuality in domestic life. It is acknowledged that a stronger sense of independence and closer family relations are needed in the challenging process of adaptation and acculturation for the Chinese immigrants in a foreign country, but the influence of the Hungarian culture on the conception of FAMILY is not obvious among the Chinese immigrant interviewees in Hungary due to their low level of the Hungarian language and limited participation in the mainstream Hungarian social and cultural life.

Furthermore, the Chinese immigrant interviewees and the questionnaire participants are conscious of the transformation of the family ideal and the erosion of the traditional Chinese family values resulting from the social and ideological changes brought by political reforms and the rapid economic growth accelerated by modernization, urbanization and globalization. The fast development of commodity economy in modern China gives rise to consumerism and materialism that exert great impact on people's attitudes towards the institution of family. The pursuit for individual happiness and economic interests takes precedence over family loyalty and kinship obligations, with the sense of family affiliation and emotional attachment to one's family reduced substantially. However, the Chinese cultural values of family harmony and family stability still remain on the minds of native Chinese speakers, and the traditional Chinese family values and ethics are not abandoned completely. It is true that the number of the interviewees may be too small to represent all Chinese immigrants in Hungary but comparative discussions about the research findings of the interviews, the questionnaire and the language corpus can reveal the Chinese metaphorical conceptualizations of FAMILY and the importance of context in the Chinese people's choices of the source domains for FAMILY. More interesting results will appear if future research will be launched with the participation of a larger number of the Chinese immigrants living in Hungary.

## Chapter Ten: A General Conclusion

Numerous sociological studies have both revealed the distinct features of the institution of family in Chinese society and confirmed that the Chinese concept of FAMILY (JIA) is a key socio-cultural concept permeated with ancestral Chinese philosophical and cultural traditions. It has also been proved that ancient Chinese philosophy underlying Chinese socio-cultural concepts is characterized by a holistic, embodied model of cognition and the prevalence of metaphor in philosophical reasoning (Nisbett et al. 2001; Jia 2008; Slingerland 2011), which may justify the appropriateness of adopting the theoretical framework of cognitive linguistics to conduct the present research about the FAMILY concept in modern Mandarin Chinese, since cognitive linguistics also holds the view that the human mind is holistic and embodied, with metaphor, metonymy, categorization, framing and image schema regarded as important cognitive mechanisms for people to make sense of their interactions with the world (Kövecses 2006). Moreover, the official, non-specialized Modern Chinese Corpus has been introduced as the source of naturally occurring linguistic data for the sake of carrying out a bottom-up, corpus-based empirical linguistic research about the concept of FAMILY in Mandarin Chinese. With more than 110 million Chinese characters from linguistic materials of the twentieth century, this closed large Chinese language corpus has indeed enabled the author of the present research to study linguistic patterns on a larger scale with a greater number and variety of linguistic examples than those can be provided by native-speaker introspection alone or by the analysis of small amounts of data. In this respect, corpus methodology has the advantage of “generating a reliable description of the typical context and use of linguistic metaphors”, and “a large corpus offers opportunities to see patterns of metaphor use that are not visible on the small scale” (Cameron and Deignan 2003: 150, 159). However, other research methodologies such as questionnaire and interviewing have also been utilized as compromising solutions for data collection in consideration of the research feasibility and the lack of available comparative language corpora so as to continue the investigation about the changes in the Chinese people’s figurative conceptualizations of FAMILY in the early twenty-first century.

The concept of FAMILY is linguistically expressed by the Chinese character 家(jiā) in modern Mandarin Chinese, so 家(jiā) has been chosen as the key research word for the present research. Following the “metaphor identification procedure” (MIP) proposed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007), source domains used for conceptualizing FAMILY and metonymies of FAMILY have been manually identified as exhaustively as possible from the linguistic data of the Modern Chinese Corpus, the questionnaire and the interviewing research. The detailed analyses of the research results have verified the first hypothesis of the present research because FAMILY as an abstract concept is truly understood through metaphors and metonymies in Mandarin Chinese. What’s more, the Chinese concept of FAMILY has been based on the deeply entrenched Chinese cognitive model of JIA and constructed primarily by several general metaphors of FAMILY such as FAMILY IS AN OBJECT, FAMILY IS A CONTAINER, FAMILY IS A PERSON, FAMILY IS A PLANT and FAMILY IS A BUILDING which may constitute the Chinese cultural model of FAMILY that has been embedded in the minds of native Chinese speakers. These conventional generic-level metaphors of FAMILY are grounded in universal life experience and dominantly present in the research data while specific-level metaphors of

FAMILY occur much less frequently but they are created out of individual experience and comparatively more novel with special rhetorical effects, especially those discovered from Chinese literature works in the Modern Chinese Corpus. In addition to the discovery of metaphors of FAMILY, metonymies of FAMILY including FAMILY FOR FAMILY PROPERTY, FAMILY FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY, FAMILY FOR ANIMAL HUSBANDRY, FAMILY FOR THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY and RESIDENTIAL PLACE OF A FAMILY FOR THE FAMILY have been identified in the research data as well. Different source domains underline different functions of the family, and metaphors and metonymies of FAMILY sometimes coexist in a single linguistic example to depict different aspects of FAMILY. Other similes, metaphors and metonymies also show up in linguistic examples with metaphors and metonymies of FAMILY, implying that a cluster of metaphors and metonymies can be applied in the Chinese language to construct abstract concepts and convey intended meanings.

Abundant linguistic data from the Modern Chinese Corpus have also displayed that the concept of FAMILY is usually understood metaphorically either as an inanimate physical object to receive human actions or a living creature capable of performing various sorts of functions. Specific-level metaphors of FAMILY have the lowest frequency, and linguistic examples of the FAMILY IS A BUILDING, FAMILY IS A PLANT and FAMILY IS A LIVING ORGANISM metaphors are much fewer in number than those of metaphors of FAMILY with OBJECT, CONTAINER and PERSON as source domains, but HUMAN BODY is not a preferred source domain to comprehend the FAMILY concept. The FAMILY IS A CONTAINER metaphor has been lexicalized in the Chinese language and linguistic markers have been detected to indicate the application of the FAMILY IS A POSSESSED OBJECT, FAMILY IS A BUILDING and FAMILY IS A PLANT metaphors, which can further support the conventionality of these metaphors. Furthermore, the research findings have affirmed that both physical entities and abstract concepts can serve as the source domains for FAMILY, but those abstract concepts used to conceptualize FAMILY are generally emotions or the key Chinese family values attached to the family that are components of the cognitive model of JIA and become the source domains for FAMILY with (or without) the help of metonymy. It can be assumed that the Chinese cultural model of FAMILY is established upon the cognitive model of JIA and comprised of general metaphors of FAMILY along with the core Chinese family values and ideologies. The present research has made it clear that the mention of the key research word 家(jiā) may activate the Chinese cognitive model of JIA that contains the family built on blood or marriage and familial relations, the responsibilities and duties among family members, the residential house, the household articles, the material and mental support for family members and the responsibilities and values of the family members towards the family (Zhou 2011). The propositional components of the cognitive model of JIA can be adopted as source domains to create metaphors of FAMILY in order to describe particular personal explanations of FAMILY.

According to cognitive linguistics, meanings are seen as conceptual categories defined by prototypes and various family resemblance relations to these prototypes. The present corpus discoveries have demonstrated the prototype effect in semantics and the crucial function of metaphor and metonymy in the semantic extension of the polysemous word 家(jiā) as well as in the formation and the meaning construction process of the disyllabic Chinese compounds with 家(jiā), since 家(jiā) has developed multiple non-prototypical meanings from its prototypical meaning of “family, home or household” through mechanisms of metaphor and metonymy, and those disyllabic compounds with 家(jiā) have also acquired their established meanings through various metaphors and metonymies that may act upon the

head, the modifier, the compound as a whole and the relation between the compound components as inspected in the research of English compounds conducted by Benczes (2005). Based on the position of the character 家(jiā), two patterns of disyllabic compounds with 家(jiā) have been identified from the Modern Chinese Corpus, and “X + 家(jiā)” compounds are more in number than “家(jiā) + Y” compounds. Nouns, verbs, adjectives, pronouns and numerals may constitute disyllabic compounds with 家(jiā) but pronouns and numerals are not allowed to form “家(jiā) + Y” compounds in Chinese grammar. Most of the disyllabic compounds with 家(jiā) are nominal compounds, and around two thirds of them are noun-noun compounds. It has been found out that 60% of the nominal compounds with 家(jiā) are right-headed and all verb-noun compounds with 家(jiā) used as verbal compounds are left-headed, revealing that the disyllabic compounds with 家(jiā) comply with the headedness rules that most nominal compounds are right-headed and verbal compounds are largely left-headed in modern Mandarin Chinese (Packard 2000; Sun 2006; Liao 2014).

Besides, 家(jiā) usually serves as the modifier, particularly when it occupies the left position in a disyllabic compound, and two thirds of the disyllabic compounds with 家(jiā) have 家(jiā) with its prototypical meaning that is more often expressed by the modifier 家(jiā). The character 家(jiā) may only display its prototypical meaning if it functions as the head, but 家(jiā) as the modifier can convey various non-prototypical meanings in one third of the disyllabic compounds with 家(jiā). These peripheral meanings of 家(jiā) are constructed by metaphors and metonymies of FAMILY along with other metaphors and metonymies such as FAMILY FAME AND FORTUNE ARE BUILDINGS, SUPERIOR/CONTROL IS UP, SUBORDINATE/LACK OF CONTROL IS DOWN, POWER IS A CONTAINER, BEING IMPORTANT AND POWERFUL IS BEING INSIDE, BEING UNIMPORTANT AND POWERLESS IS BEING OUTSIDE, MANAGING AN OBJECT IS HOLDING THE OBJECT, BEING INFLUENTIAL AND POWERFUL IS BEING BIG, PEOPLE WITH SAME ACADEMIC THOUGHTS ARE FAMILY, PEOPLE WITH SIMILAR INTERESTS OR PROPERTIES ARE FAMILY, BEING HUMBLE AND POWERLESS IS BEING SMALL, PEOPLE WORKING AT THE INSTITUTION FOR THE INSTITUTION, PROFESSION FOR PEOPLE WHO HOLD THE PROFESSION, BODY/MOUTH FOR THE PERSON, CHARACTERISTICS OF PEOPLE FOR THE PEOPLE and THE SALIENT PART OF THE PROCEDURE FOR THE PROCEDURE. Moreover, the RESULT FOR REASON metonymy and the CLOSE RELATION IS FAMILY RELATION, PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, PEOPLE WITHOUT PATRON ARE DOGS WITHOUT OWNER, A PRETTY GIRL IS JADE and BEING FIRST IS BEING THE HEAD metaphors have been detected from Chinese idioms and phrases with 家(jiā), which can suggest that metaphor and metonymy prevail in the formation and the meaning construction of both the disyllabic compounds with 家(jiā) and Chinese phrases or idioms with 家(jiā).

Furthermore, the key research word 家(jiā) has both meanings of “family” and “home”, and corpus data have shown that FAMILY and HOME are common source domains to conceptualize other abstract concepts in Mandarin Chinese. However, FAMILY is more often understood metaphorically through concrete source domains than used as a source domain because more linguistic examples of metaphors with FAMILY as target domain have been identified in the language corpus than those of metaphors with FAMILY and HOME as source domains. The source domain of FAMILY is employed to metaphorically comprehend target domains such as COUNTRY/STATE/NATION, SOCIETY, ETHNIC NATIONALITY, INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY and SOCIAL GROUPS/INSTITUTIONS while a variety of working places are conceptualized through the source domain of HOME. Metaphors with FAMILY and HOME as source domains are capable of structuring interpersonal relations upon familial relations and cultivating people’s loyalty, devotion, emotions and responsibilities attached to their home

(and family) for the protection of the collective interests and the achievement of harmony, unity and stability of a social community or a country/state/nation. Similes and metaphors of FAMILY can be applied together with metaphors with FAMILY and HOME as source domains to express desired meanings as well. Meanwhile, research results from the comparative corpus study of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor in Chinese, American and Hungarian political discourse have further supported the conspicuous Chinese preference for the metaphor and the advantage of a corpus-based study in terms of offering sufficiently large amounts of linguistic data for the distributional analysis of metaphors in political discourse in order to uncover the power of metaphor in framing political arguments into stereotypical scenarios that suggest particular conclusions (Musolff 2004). It has been noticed that various source domains have been adopted to depict different aspects of a country/state/nation and realize different political goals in three self-created political discourse corpora. The source domains of FAMILY, HOME/HOMELAND, PERSON, CONTAINER and OBJECT may show the structure and diverse functions of a country/state/nation while BUILDING and PLANT can highlight the government's political accomplishments and future tasks concerning national development and prosperity.

On the other hand, the second hypothesis of the present research has not been fully supported by the research data, since the comparison of the research results from the Modern Chinese Corpus, the questionnaire and the interviews has indicated that no dramatic changes have occurred in the Chinese metaphorical conceptualizations of FAMILY, and the majority of the metaphors of FAMILY used in the twentieth century in the language corpus are still in use in the early twenty-first century. Such discoveries may confirm the strong influence of the Chinese cultural model of FAMILY in shaping the metaphorical conceptualizations of FAMILY nowadays despite the fact that most of the questionnaire participants in China and the Chinese immigrants in Hungary have been in complete awareness of the structural and ideological changes in the institution of family which have been brought by the economic, political and social reforms in the past four decades. The powerful hold of the cultural model of FAMILY on the minds of native Chinese speakers can override the contextual effects of age, gender, profession, educational background, family origin and income, family structure, parenting styles, modes of family education and even the difference of the immediate social, physical and communicative environment. The contextual effect of the Hungarian culture on the Chinese immigrants' metaphorical conceptualizations of FAMILY has not been obviously seen due to the overwhelming influence of the Chinese cultural model of FAMILY and the immigrant interviewees' elementary level of the Hungarian language that may restrict them from acquiring a thorough understanding of the Hungarian culture. Thus, the questionnaire participants and the immigrant interviewees have shared many metaphors of FAMILY and a tendency of applying specific-level metaphors to express their individual conceptualizations of FAMILY in their replies to the question what family is but relying on generic-level metaphors that constitute the Chinese cultural model of FAMILY to interpret the impact of social changes resulting from the development of commodity economy upon people's conception of FAMILY at the present time.

Nevertheless, within-culture variation of metaphor use can be observed from the employment of specific-level metaphors of FAMILY due to the difference in individual life experience and the alteration of the immediate socio-cultural, physical and communicative settings. Compared with the findings in the Modern Chinese Corpus, more comparatively novel, specific-level metaphors of FAMILY have been identified in the linguistic data of the

questionnaire and the interviews. Most of these specific-level metaphors of FAMILY do not have a high frequency because they are motivated by special, individual experience of family life that cannot be universally shared. It is very likely that a large portion of the questionnaire participants and the immigrant interviewees may have enjoyed a happy family life, since very few source domains for conceptualizing FAMILY are unwelcoming in nature. The shared situation of having satisfaction with family life and managing life's hardships and obstacles in order to survive in a new living environment underlies the salience of the idea of SAFE PLACE and the mutual preference for the source domain of HARBOR in the metaphorical conceptualizations of FAMILY among a large part of the questionnaire participants and the immigrant interviewees. Therefore, the FAMILY IS A SAFE PLACE and FAMILY IS A HARBOR metaphors can be considered as "context-induced metaphors" (Kövecses 2015) which do not occur in the Modern Chinese Corpus but appear frequently in the research data of the questionnaire and the interviews to emphasize the family's essential functions of providing help, safety, protection and place for rest. Since context and bodily experience are believed to be two sources for people to obtain meanings in the views of cognitive linguistics, the present research also confirms the importance of context because context not only helps to determine the on-line meaning of the polysemous research word 家(jiā) in the research data but also motivates context-induced metaphors that express individual understanding of the FAMILY concept.

In addition, language and culture are closely related and both are meaning making activities (Kövecses 2015). The study of language can reveal cultural characteristics and the patterns of human cognition, since "language is a repository of cultural conceptualizations that have coalesced at different stages in the history of the speech community and these can leave traces in current linguistic practice" (Sharifian 2015: 488), and linguistic texts can be seen as rich sources for linguistic metaphorical expressions that are systematically tied to metaphorical concepts, so the exploration of the nature of metaphorical concepts through metaphorical linguistic expressions may help people to understand the metaphorical nature of human activities (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff and Turner 1989). The present research has testified the significant function of culture as a contextual factor in shaping the figurative conceptualizations of FAMILY in Mandarin Chinese. The salience of the FAMILY concept in the Chinese culture and the centrality of the family in Chinese society have found expression in the Chinese language, and the dominant Chinese cultural values and family ethics have been deeply rooted in the minds of native Chinese speakers and explicitly reflected in their metaphorical understanding of FAMILY. The heritage of the Chinese feudal traditions and the Confucian family values and morality have been preserved and sustained in Mandarin Chinese, especially in those Chinese compounds with 家(jiā) used as honorific titles, self-deprecatory expressions or names of academic subjects. The lexicalization of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor in the compound 国家(guó jiā) (country-family) has also recorded the integration of concepts of FAMILY and COUNTRY/STATE/NATION in history and the central role of the family in Chinese political and social life.

What's more, the vital importance and the high value attached to the institution of family in the Chinese culture may underlie both the productivity of metaphors with FAMILY and HOME as source domains in the Modern Chinese Corpus and the particular prominence of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor in Chinese political discourse. It is a cultural tradition to organize social and political activities through the medium of the family and take family relations as a paradigm for modeling social and political relations in China (Eastman

1988; Fei 1992; Zheng 2001; Li 2006; Zang 2008; Starr 2010), so any types of interpersonal relations in collective communities or associations are customarily understood through kinship ties with the activation of FAMILY metaphors. The frequent use of the WORKING PLACE IS HOME metaphor with its varied specifications in the language corpus may blur the boundary between work and private life, which is a phenomenon rarely seen in English because of the emphasis on individuality and the lack of strong sense of community affiliation in Western cultures (see Zhou 2011). Besides, the cross-cultural study of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor has verified the universal presence of the metaphor in Chinese, American and Hungarian political discourse owing to the universal bodily experience of family life, and cultural context may greatly influence the frequency and productivity of the metaphors of COUNTRY/STATE/NATION in the political speeches under examination. Since metaphors in political discourse “are often rooted in certain underlying ideologies and cultural models” (Sharifian 2015: 487), the sharp contrast in the occurrence frequency of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor in Chinese, American and Hungarian political discourse corpora may reveal that the Chinese cultural emphasis on the value of family and the prevailing Confucian values and ideology in relation to family harmony, unity and stability in the Chinese political reasoning might not be shared in American and Hungarian cultures. In the political corpora used for the present research, the concept of COUNTRY/STATE/NATION has also been conceptualized through other source domains such as PERSON, OBJECT, BUILDING, VEHICLE and PLANT whose distribution and frequency can be affected by different socio-cultural contextual factors as well.

With respect of the two family models proposed by Lakoff (1996), the present research has proved that both models of morality exist in the Chinese minds and the Chinese political reasoning, but the adoption or the dominance of either model of morality is not necessarily indicated explicitly by the application of FAMILY metaphors only. The morality traits of these two family models have been observed more frequently from parenting styles, intrafamilial relations and the roles a government or a country/state/nation can play to deal with political issues. What’s more, the Nurturant Parent model of morality tends to be more preferred than the Strict Father model of morality both in the sphere of Chinese domestic life and in contemporary Chinese political discourse, since the nurturing and supportive roles of the country/state/nation have been greatly highlighted in the Chinese annual government work reports (2004-2012). Furthermore, most of the questionnaire participants in China and the Chinese immigrant interviewees in Hungary have shown a stronger preference for providing freedom for their children’s self-development and managing their families as friendly, helpful and communicative parents instead of being strict, authoritative family leaders who advocate severe punishment and demand absolute obedience from their children.

The cross-language exploration about the use of the COUNTRY/STATE/NATION AS FAMILY metaphor in political discourse has also revealed that Lakoff’s two models of morality can be detected in the political reasoning of American and Hungarian political leaders despite the few occurrences of the metaphor in their political speeches. The nine years of American State of the Union Addresses (2004-2012) have testified Lakoff’s (1996) claim that the conservative Republicans are keen on the Strict Father model of morality to express their political views while the liberal Democrats pay less attention to the application of the Nurturant Parent model of morality to enhance the effectiveness of their political arguments. However, no clear-cut dominance of either model has been visible in the twelve years of Hungarian government reports (1999-2010) because Hungarian political parties do not



correspond with the conservative versus liberal distinction as in America and usually exhibit “the Hungarian twist” (Kövecses 2009b) in terms of the features of their respective political measures. Meanwhile, the Hungarian conservative party emphasizes the Strict Father model of morality whereas the social-liberal party stresses the Nurturant Parent model of morality in regard to the relation between Hungary and EU. These research findings have further demonstrated that Lakoff’s two models of morality are largely present in political argumentation but not directly signaled by FAMILY metaphors, since neither American nor Hungarian political leaders have used FAMILY metaphors so frequently in their political speeches.

It is necessary to point out that the information contained in the linguistic data of the present linguistic research of FAMILY may echo the sociological findings about the changes in the institution of family and women’s social roles in contemporary China as a result of social, political and ideological reforms in the process of modernization, urbanization and globalization. Research data have indicated the decline of the traditional extended family and parental authority, the erosion of the traditional Confucian family values and family ideal, the reduced emphasis on family loyalty and kinship obligations, the dominance of the nuclear family and conjugal relation as well as the rise of individuality in domestic life (Yan 2009; Zang 2008, 2011). Moreover, gender equality has been written in legislations and regulations, and working wives can obtain economic independence from their jobs outside their families, enjoy increasing decision-making power within the family circle and shoulder up family responsibilities equally with their husbands as discovered by sociologists (see Zuo and Bian 2005; Zang 2008; Yan 2009). The majority of the questionnaire participants and the immigrant interviewees have noticed the impact of the development of commodity economy upon people’s conception of FAMILY. Materialism and consumerism along with the rapid economic growth can encourage the pursuit for individual needs and happiness and enable people to redefine their social status in terms of consumption, life style and material wealth instead of traditional kinship system (Yan 2009). As a result, family structure, family ideal and people’s attitudes and perceptions towards the family have been changed profoundly. It has also been admitted by the immigrant interviewees that their children born overseas might not adhere to the traditional Chinese family values as they do because of different education received in a foreign country, but most of the interviewees have acknowledged that the Chinese culture and family tradition can be passed on to the next generation through family education and the learning of the Chinese language in order to maintain the Chinese identity. Therefore, the traditional Chinese family values may not be abandoned completely though they are less respected nowadays than before, since the key cultural values on family harmony, unity and stability as well as the importance of family have been embedded in the Chinese language and cultural routines and may remain relatively stable in the minds of native Chinese speakers.

Even though the present research has presented a comparatively comprehensive picture about the figurative understanding of FAMILY in modern Mandarin Chinese with empirical linguistic data as supportive evidence, there might be mistakes or over-generalizations in data processing and data interpretation, and the achievement of research aims has been confined by limitations of research manageability and the absence of comparable language corpora which may affect the comparability of the research data and the reliability of the research results. Besides, the number the interviewees may be too small to represent all Chinese immigrants living in Hungary while the questionnaire participants are university students

whose explanations of FAMILY might not represent all young people's understanding of FAMILY in contemporary China. Therefore, future research may yield more inspiring discoveries if young people from all walks of life can participate in a well-organized questionnaire study about the concept of FAMILY or a bigger number of Chinese immigrants, especially the second generation of the Chinese immigrants, would be interviewed to uncover the influence of a foreign culture on people's conception of FAMILY. Moreover, future cross-cultural political discourse studies with a larger body of linguistic data are promising to testify the notion of "body politic" suggested by Musolff (2012) and provide more comprehensive, definitive conclusions about the salience and function of FAMILY metaphors in political rhetoric. Comparative research about FAMILY metaphors may also bring interesting findings about cultural effects on the creation and usage of FAMILY metaphors across different languages. Given the fact that OBJECT, CONTAINER, PERSON, PLANT, and BUILDING are common source domains to conceptualize abstract concepts (Kövecses 2010), it would be fruitful to conduct cross-language studies about metaphors of FAMILY to check whether general metaphors of FAMILY IS AN OBJECT, FAMILY IS A CONTAINER, FAMILY IS A PERSON, FAMILY IS A PLANT, and FAMILY IS A BUILDING are universal metaphors and whether different cultures have distinct culturally specific metaphors of FAMILY. More diachronic research about changes in the Chinese people's metaphorical conceptualizations of FAMILY can be carried out with more reliable discoveries if appropriate language corpora are available in the future.

## Appendixes

**Appendix 1:** The “noun + 家(jiā)” words in Modern Chinese Corpus in which 家(jiā) means “people who are specialists or experts in a certain field with specialized knowledge or abundant practical experience; people engaged in specialized activities”

NO.	The “noun + 家(jiā)” words in which 家(jiā) means people who are specialists or experts in a certain field with specialized knowledge or abundant practical experience; people engaged in specialized activities		Number of appearance	Frequency %
1	科学家 (kē xué jiā)	scientist	930	0.0973
2	资本家 (zī běn jiā)	capitalist	685	0.0717
3	艺术家 (yì shù jiā)	artist	495	0.0518
4	物理学家 (wù lǐ xué jiā)	physician	195	0.0204
5	哲学家 (zhé xué jiā)	philosopher	182	0.0190
6	作曲家 (zuò qǔ jiā)	composer	178	0.0186
7	心理学家 (xīn lǐ xué jiā)	psychologist	170	0.0178
8	思想家 (sī xiǎng jiā)	ideologist	135	0.0141
9	化学家 (huà xué jiā)	chemist	132	0.0138
10	音乐家 (yīn yuè jiā)	musician	131	0.0137
11	数学家 (shù xué jiā)	mathematician	127	0.0133
12	革命家 (gé mìng jiā)	revolutionist	113	0.0118
13	舞蹈家 (wǔ dǎo jiā)	terpsichorean; dancer	110	0.0115
14	理论家 (lǐ lùn jiā)	theoretician	104	0.0109
15	企业家 (qǐ yè jiā)	entrepreneur	103	0.0108
16	文学家 (wén xué jiā)	litterateur	98	0.0103
17	语言学家 (yǔ yán xué jiā)	linguist	96	0.0100
18	天文学家 (tiān wén xué jiā)	astronomer	92	0.0096
19	政治家 (zhèng zhì jiā)	politician	90	0.0094
20	教育家 (jiào yù jiā)	educationist	89	0.0093
21	剧作家 (jù zuò jiā)	play-writer	70	0.0073
22	法学家 (fǎ xué jiā)	jurisprudential scholar	64	0.0067
23	生物学家 (shēng wù xué jiā)	biologist	64	0.0067
24	经济学家 (jīng jì xué jiā)	economist	62	0.0065
25	评论家 (píng lùn jiā)	critic	54	0.0057
26	社会学家 (shè huì xué jiā)	sociologist	52	0.0054
27	批评家 (pī píng jiā)	commenter	49	0.0051
28	发明家 (fā míng jiā)	inventor	47	0.0049
29	历史学家 (lì shǐ xué jiā)	historian	45	0.0047
30	雕刻家 (diāo kè jiā)	sculptor	40	0.0042
31	自然科学家 (zì rán kē xué jiā)	natural science expert	40	0.0042
32	野心家 (yě xīn jiā)	ambitious schemer	38	0.0040
33	文艺家 (wén yì jiā)	literature and art expert	38	0.0040
34	歌唱家 (gē chàng jiā)	singer	37	0.0039

35	小说家 (xiǎo shuō jiā)	novelist	37	0.0039
36	史学家 (shǐ xué jiā)	historian	36	0.0038
37	军事家 (jūn shì jiā)	militarist	33	0.0035
38	美术家 (měi shù jiā)	artist	33	0.0034
39	表演艺术家 (biǎo yǎn yì shù jiā)	performance artist	32	0.0033
40	地质学家 (dì zhì xué jiā)	geologist	32	0.0033
41	摄影家 (shè yǐng jiā)	photographer	32	0.0033
42	医学家 (yī xué jiā)	medical science expert	31	0.0032
43	雕塑家 (diāo sù jiā)	sculptor	30	0.0031
44	活动家 (huó dòng jiā)	activist	28	0.0029
45	美学家 (měi xué jiā)	esthetician	28	0.0029
46	演奏家 (yǎn zòu jiā)	musical instrument performer	27	0.0028
47	钢琴家 (gāng qín jiā)	pianist	24	0.0025
48	生理学家 (shēng lǐ xué jiā)	physiologist	24	0.0025
49	书法家 (shū fǎ jiā)	calligrapher	24	0.0025
50	戏剧家 (xì jù jiā)	dramatist	24	0.0025
51	旅行家 (lǚ xíng jiā)	travel expert	23	0.0024
52	银行家 (yín háng jiā)	banker	22	0.0023
53	人类学家 (rén lèi xué jiā)	anthropologist	22	0.0023
54	观察家 (guān chá jiā)	observer	20	0.0021
55	阴谋家 (yīn móu jiā)	conspirator	20	0.0021
56	航海家 (háng hǎi jiā)	navigator	19	0.0020
57	小提琴家 (xiǎo tí qín jiā)	violinist	19	0.0020
58	植物学家 (zhí wù xué jiā)	botanist	19	0.0020
59	指挥家 (zhǐ huī jiā)	conductor (of an orchestra)	18	0.0019
60	实干家 (shí gàn jiā)	doer; a man of action	17	0.0018
61	神学家 (shén xué jiā)	theologist	17	0.0018
62	漫画家 (màn huà jiā)	cartoonist	17	0.0018
63	考古学家 (kǎo gǔ xué jiā)	archaeologist	15	0.0016
64	书画家 (shū huà jiā)	painter and calligrapher	14	0.0015
65	教育学家 (jiào yù xué jiā)	educationist	14	0.0015
66	探险家 (tàn xiǎn jiā)	explorer	14	0.0015
67	改革家 (gǎi gé jiā)	reformer	14	0.0015
68	分析家 (fēn xī jiā)	analyst	12	0.0013
69	理学家 (lǐ xué jiā)	Neo-Confucian	12	0.0013
70	冒险家 (mào xiǎn jiā)	adventurer	11	0.0012
71	外交家 (wài jiāo jiā)	diplomat	11	0.0012
72	地理学家 (dì lǐ xué jiā)	geographer	11	0.0012
73	实业家 (shí yè jiā)	industrialist	10	0.0010
74	政论家 (zhèng lùn jiā)	political commentator	9	0.0009
75	农学家 (nóng xué jiā)	agriculturalist	8	0.0008
76	汉学家 (hàn xué jiā)	sinologist	8	0.0008
77	收藏家 (shōu cáng jiā)	collector	8	0.0008
78	演说家 (yǎn shuō jiā)	elocutionist	7	0.0007
79	战略家 (zhàn lüè jiā)	strategist	7	0.0007

80	预言家 (yù yán jiā)	prophet	6	0.0006
81	社会活动家 (shè huì huó dòng jiā)	social activist	6	0.0006
82	慈善家 (cí shàn jiā)	charitarian	6	0.0006
83	营养学家 (yíng yǎng xué jiā)	nutritionist	6	0.0006
84	版画家 (bǎn huà jiā)	woodcut artist	6	0.0006
85	核物理学家 (hé wù lǐ xué jiā)	nuclear physicist	5	0.0005
86	道学家 (dào xué jiā)	Neo-Confucian	5	0.0005
87	科学史家 (kē xué shǐ jiā)	science history expert	4	0.0004
88	美食家 (měi shí jiā)	gourmet	4	0.0004
89	金融家 (jīn róng jiā)	financier	3	0.0003
90	出版家 (chū bǎn jiā)	publisher	3	0.0003
91	设计家 (shè jì jiā)	designer	3	0.0003
92	音乐学家 (yīn yuè xué jiā)	musicologist	3	0.0003
93	散文家 (sǎn wén jiā)	essayist	2	0.0002
94	理论物理学家 (lǐ lùn wù lǐ xué jiā)	theoretical physicist	2	0.0002
95	经史家 (jīng shǐ jiā)	historian	2	0.0002
96	鉴赏家 (jiàn shǎng jiā)	connoisseur	2	0.0002
97	阴阳家 (yīn yáng jiā)	Yin-Yang specialist	2	0.0002
98	幻想家 (huàn xiǎng jiā)	fantast	2	0.0002
99	学问家 (xué wèn jiā)	scholar	2	0.0002
100	气候学家 (qì hòu xué jiā)	climatologist	1	0.0001
101	地磁学家 (dì cí xué jiā)	geomagnetic expert	1	0.0001
102	红学家 (hóng xué jiā)	expert on researcher of the Chinese novel "A Dream of Red Mansions"	1	0.0001
103	藏书家 (cáng shū jiā)	book collectors	1	0.0001
104	悲剧家 (bēi jù jiā)	tragedy dramatist	1	0.0001
105	喜剧家 (xǐ jù jiā)	comedy dramatist	1	0.0001
106	炼剑家 (liàn jiàn jiā)	sword-making master	1	0.0001
107	相剑家 (xiàng jiàn jiā)	sword connoisseur	1	0.0001
108	矿物学家 (kuàng wù xué jiā)	mineralogist	1	0.0001
109	油画家 (yóu huà jiā)	oil painter	1	0.0001
110	病理学家 (bìng lǐ xué jiā)	pathologist	1	0.0001
111	术数家 (shù shù jiā)	expert on Shushu (one of big branches of Zhou Yi)	1	0.0001
112	电影家 (diàn yǐng jiā)	movie masters	1	0.0001
113	法理学家 (fǎ lǐ xué jiā)	jurisprudent	1	0.0001
114	星相家 (xīng xiàng jiā)	astrologer	1	0.0001
115	金术家 (jīn shù jiā)	alchemy expert	1	0.0001
116	堪舆家 (kān yǔ jiā)	expert on geomantic omen	1	0.0001

## Appendix 2: The linguistic examples of FAMILY IS AN OBJECT metaphor in the Modern Chinese Corpus

1. 为什么我们有的青年会把结婚看作是爱情的终结和坟墓，把**家庭**看成是对爱情的一种桎梏，一旦恋爱着的双方组成了**家庭**，那么爱情的追求也就永远结束了，……。 (解放日报; 1982-6-23) Why some of our young people regard marriage as the finality and tomb of love, and see family as the shackle of love. Once the two people in love make up a family, then their pursuit for love will end for ever……. (*The Liberation Daily*; 1982-6-23)
2. 在异国他乡，他终于寻到了**家庭**的温暖！ (文汇报; 1979-5-15)  
In the foreign country, he finally found the warmth of family! (*Wenhui Daily*; 1979-5-15)
3. “……，为了部队这个大**家庭**，即使有委屈也要忍受才对。” (解放军报; 1980-3-29) “……For the sake of the big family of the army, (you) have to tolerate even you suffer injustice.” (*People's Liberation Army Daily*; 1980-3-29)
4. 当傅仁杰得知两个儿子因牵挂**家庭**而不安心服役时，他连夜写信责怪儿子…… (解放军报; 1987-8-6)  
When Ren-jie Fu got to know that his two sons could not settle down to take service in the army because they were concerned about the family, he wrote a letter to blame his sons that very night……. (*People's Liberation Army Daily*; 1987-8-6)
5. ……，而且影响的还不仅是一个人、一个**家庭**，也许还是一片，一个社会，…… (新民晚报; 1986-7-2) …… Moreover, (It) will affect not only one person, one family, but probably a wider range, a society……. (*Xinmin Evening News*; 1986-7-2)
6. “奥运大**家庭**”愈来愈热闹。 (新民晚报; 1992-7-23) “The Olympic Big Family” became more and more lively. (*Xinmin Evening News*; 1992-7-23)
7. 截至昨天，本届奥运会的“奥运大**家庭**”成员已有一万八千一百九十一人注册登记，其中记者数占一半。 (新民晚报; 1992-7-23) By the end of yesterday, the number of the registered members of the Olympic Big Family of the current Olympic Games was already 18191, half of which were journalists. (*Xinmin Evening News*; 1992-7-23)
8. “…… 这种吻合超出了双边关系的范围，反映在国际大**家庭**的广阔领域中。” (北京日报; 1979-2-10) “…… Such coincidence exceeded the scope of bilateral relations, and reflected itself in the wide range of the international big family.” (*Beijing Daily*; 1979-2-10)
9. 传统**家庭**结构中，长辈的权威、名誉、堂皇的外表、亲和的秩序，总是以牺牲下层的起码生活幸福为前提的。(《权力的祭坛》; 崔文华; 1988-12-1) In the structure of a traditional family, the authority of the elder generation, honor, glorious appearance and amiable order are always achieved with the precondition of sacrificing the basic happy life of the younger generation. (*The Altar of Power*; Wen hua Cui; 1988-12-1)
10. 最初，大**家庭**是作为以血缘关系为基本组合纽带的生产-生活群体而存在的。(《权力的祭坛》; 崔文华; 1988-12-1) At beginning, big families existed as the production and life group based upon blood relations as basic assembling ties. (*The Altar of Power*; Wen hua Cui; 1988-12-1)

11. .... 其基本精神是使中华人民共和国成为各民族友爱合作的大家庭, ..... (《马克思民族理论与中国民族问题》; 彭英明; 1988-7-1) ..... Its basic essence is to make the People's Republic of China a big family of friendly cooperation for all ethnic nationalities..... (*Marxist Ethnic Theory and Chinese Ethnic Problems*; Ying ming Peng; 1988-7-1)
12. 分散的小家庭只是在资产阶级制度下才成为统治形式的家庭; 这种家庭在史前时代是根本没有的。(《在国家与法的理论问题上驳斥右派谬论》; 1958-6-1) “Dispersive small families only became the ruling form of family under the bourgeois system; such families did not exist in the prehistoric age.” (*Denounce the Right Wing's False Theories on the Issue of the State and the Law*; 1958-6-1)
13. ...., 他们中的绝大多数不可能放弃现实的政治经济利益, 弃家出世, 投入佛门。(《中国佛教与传统文化》; 方立天; 1988-4-1) ..... Most of them were impossible to give up the political and economic interests in reality, and abandon the families to throw themselves into Buddhism. (*Chinese Buddhism and Traditional Culture*; Li tian Fang; 1988-4-1)
14. 他便弃家默坐, 以求大觉。(《基督眼里的中华民族》; 徐松石; 1941-9-1) He then abandoned the family and sat silently in order to achieve enlightenment. (*The Chinese Nation in the Eyes of Jesus Christ*; Song shi Xu; 1941-9-1)
15. 许多农村中的旧式家庭也得到了改造, 男女平等代替了“夫权”和封建家庭的统治。(《我国公民的基本权利和义务》; 李光灿; 1955-6-1) Many old-fashioned families in the countryside have received reforms, and the equal status of men and women has taken place of the authority of the husband and the rule of the feudal families. (*The Basic Rights and Duties of Our Citizens*; Guang can Li, 1955-6-1)
16. 我们说家庭和爱情当然是谁都需要, ..... (《婚姻法讲话》; 周家清; 1964-4-1) We say everybody certainly needs family and love..... (*Talks about Marriage Law*; Jia qing Zhou; 1964-4-1)
17. 他号召大家“人自为战, 家自为守”, ..... (《历史的回顾》; 马模贞, 孙茂生; 1984-2-1) He promoted that “people should fight and guard their families by themselves”..... (*Retrospection of History*; Mo zhen Ma, Mao sheng Sun; 1984-2-1)
18. 据上海南市区对五十户婆媳共处的扩大家庭的调查, 婆媳矛盾尖锐的占百分之三十..... (《社会学基础》; 叶丽, 李星万; 1987-1-1) According to an investigation on 50 extended families which had mother-in-laws and wives living together in the southern Shanghai city, 30% of them had sharp conflicts between mother-in-law and wife..... (*Basic Sociology*; Li Ye, Xing wan Li; 1987-1-1)
19. 人到了青年期, 其心理、生理都发展成熟了, 天然地要去完成组织家庭、繁衍后代的任务。(《青年社会学》; 费穗宇, 穆宪; 1987-7-1) When people reach adolescence, their mentality and body all become matured, so they will naturally complete the task of making up families and reproducing the next generation. (*Sociology for Youth*; Sui yu Fei, Xian Mu; 1987-7-1)
20. 就是说, 把每个家治理好了, 国家也就安定了。(《青年社会学》; 费穗宇, 穆宪; 1987-7-1) In other words, if every family is well managed, the country will be stabilized. (*Sociology for Youth*; Sui yu Fei, Xian Mu; 1987-7-1)
21. ...., 中国传统的家庭形态也开始发生变迁。(《青年社会学》; 费穗宇, 穆宪; 1987-7-1) ..... The form

of Chinese traditional families also started to change. (*Sociology for Youth*; Sui yu Fei, Xian Mu; 1987-7-1)

22. ...., 无产阶级的壮大, 使中国的**家庭**形态又增添了新的形式, 原有的封建宗法制**家庭**出现了新的变化, ..... 新兴的**家庭**也受到了社会形态的制约, 具有不同于资本主义社会**家庭**形态的种种特点。  
(《青年社会学》; 费穗宇, 穆宪; 1987-7-1) ..... The strengthened proletariat brought new types to the form of Chinese families. New changes occurred to the original feudal patriarchal families..... The emerging families were also restrained by social form, and thus had various different characteristics from the form of capitalist families. (*Sociology for Youth*; Sui yu Fei, Xian Mu; 1987-7-1)
23. 处于这种**家庭**形态中的青年, 必然具有其自身的特征。(《青年社会学》; 费穗宇, 穆宪; 1987-7-1)  
The young people in such family form inevitably had their own features. (*Sociology for Youth*; Sui yu Fei, Xian Mu; 1987-7-1)
24. .... **家庭**规模与结构以及衣食住行等; ..... (《社会学》; 刘献君, 谢圣明; 1987-9-1) ..... The scope and structure of a family and the basic necessities of life: food, clothing, shelter and means of traveling; ..... (*Sociology*; Xian jun Liu, Sheng ming Xie; 1987-9-1)
25. 有的人前一个**家庭**刚解体, 后一个**家庭**接踵而来。(《实用心理学全书》; 刘飞茂, 成志伟; 1988-1-1)  
Some people have the previous family disintegrated, and the next family follows up rapidly. (*Practical Psychology*; Fei mao Liu, Zhi wei Cheng; 1988-1-1)
26. ...., 想再组织新**家庭**。(《实用心理学全书》; 刘飞茂, 成志伟; 1988-1-1) ..... (They) want to make up new families. (*Practical Psychology*; Fei mao Liu, Zhi wei Cheng; 1988-1-1)
27. 人的性格是在**家庭**、学校、社会环境的长期影响下, 在主体与客体相互作用的过程中逐步形成的。  
(《青年心理学》; 王极盛; 1983-8-1) A person's personality is gradually formed in the process of the interaction between the subject and the object under the effects of the family, school and the social environment over a long time. (*Youth Psychology*; Ji sheng Wang; 1983-8-1)
28. 家庭离散、噪音、有毒气体、.....等等。(《人与社会的探寻》; 罗国安, 赵金昭; 1988-5-1) The separated family, noise, poisonous gas and so on. (*The Exploration of Human and the Society*; Guo an Luo, Jin zhao Zhao; 1988-5-1)
29. 如噪音、恐怖、突然而来的不幸消息、家庭离散、吵架等, 足以引起孕妇的不安、惊恐..... (《人与社会的探寻》; 罗国安, 赵金昭; 1988-5-1) For example, noise, terror, sudden bad news, separated families and quarrels and so on are enough to make pregnant women feel uneasy and frightened..... (*The Exploration of Human and the Society*; Guo an Luo, Jin zhao Zhao; 1988-5-1)
30. 此时, 大学生并没有对家庭的留恋, 而是只有自己向往的满足--摆脱家庭独立生活。(《人与社会的探寻》; 罗国安, 赵金昭; 1988-5-1) At this moment, college students do not yearn for the family, but only have the satisfaction they desire—get rid of the family and live independently. (*The Exploration of Human and the Society*; Guo an Luo, Jin zhao Zhao; 1988-5-1)
31. 结果, 叫学生脱离生产, 脱离家庭, ..... (《老解放区教育工作经验片断》; 成仿吾; 1958-12-1) As a result, let students break away from production and families..... (*Snapshots of the Education Experience in Old Liberated Areas*; Fang wu Cheng; 1958-12-1)



32. 他们中因此杀身破家的人也是有的。 (《现代意识与文化传统》; 徐中玉; 1987-10-1) There were people among them who got killed and families broken because of it. (*Modern Thinking and Cultural Tradition*; Zhong yu Xu; 1987-10-1)
33. .... 为了维持自己的面子和“体面”的家庭, 他不能承认侍萍, ..... (《文学的反思》; 刘再复; 1986-11-1) .... In order to maintain his face and decent family, he could not acknowledge Si-ping..... (*Introspection of Literature*; Zai fu Liu; 1986-11-1)
34. .... 她不愿在家享清福, 毅然冲破封建家庭的束缚, 一九〇四年夏只身东渡日本留学。 (《浙江风物志》; 毛翼虎; 1985-2-1) .... She did not want to stay at home to enjoy an easy and carefree life, but resolutely broke the bound of the feudal family and crossed over to Japan to study all by herself in the summer of 1904. (*The Scenery Record of Zhejiang*; Yi hu Mao; 1985-2-1)
35. .... 生育子女, 创家立业。 (《壮族风俗志》; 梁庭望; 1987-10-1) .... Give birth to children, create families and establish careers. (*Customs of the Zhuang Nationality*; Ting wang Liang; 1987-10-1)
36. 于是生活宽裕, 境遇良好, 可以维持较大的家庭, 养育较多的子女, ..... (《经济学》; 赵兰坪; 1946-11-1) Therefore, the life was well-off and the situation was good so that comparatively bigger families could be maintained and more children reared..... (*Economics*; Lan ping Zhao; 1946-11-1)
37. 这是一个四世同堂的大家庭, 年逾古稀的魏老太太是家庭的中心, ..... (《反省》; 林兆华; 1987-4-1) This is a big family of four generations, and Granny Wei over seventy years old is the center of the family..... (*Reflection*; Zhao hua Lin; 1987-4-1)
38. .... 尽管已年逾八十, 却仍然主宰着这个家庭。 (《创作点滴谈》; 封智; 1987-4-1) .... Although (she) is over eighty years old, she is still dominating the family. (*Discussions on Creation*; Zhi Feng; 1987-4-1)
39. 桂英对家还有些留恋, ..... (《周信芳舞台艺术》; 周信芳; 1961-12-1) Guiying was still nostalgic about the family..... (*The Stage Craft of Xinfang Zhou*; Xin fang Zhou; 1961-12-1)
40. 完了, 这个家散了, 好端端的家业让一群土匪给毁了。 (《女伶》; 邢院生; 1989-1-1) It's over. The family fell apart and the family property was destroyed by a group of brigands. (*Actress*; Yuan sheng Xing; 1989-1-1)
41. 但我又担心, 铁匠走村串宅, 能给莲子一个安定的家吗? (《莲子》; 吴丽嫦; 1982-12-30) But I also worried that the blacksmith wandered about the streets to make a living, could he give a stable family to Lianzi? (*Lianzi*; Li chang Wu; 1982-12-30)
42. ...., 都是能结成美满的姻缘、缔造出幸福的家庭的。 (《爱情的位置》; 刘心武; 1978-8-1) .... (People) all can form a satisfactory marriage and create a happy family. (*The Position of Love*; Xin wu Liu; 1978-8-1)
43. 如果是在外边组成了新家庭的儿女们, 自然不能这样。 (《电话·世态》; 韦昕; 1987-2-5) If they are the children who have made up new families outside, it naturally cannot be like this. (*Telephone•Ways of the World*; Xin Wei; 1987-2-5)

44. 但这多年来，自从分了家，他父子俩是轻易不说话的。（《父子赶集》；马路；1980-5-15）  
But during so many years, the father and the son seldom talked with each other since the family was divided.  
(*Father and Son Go to the Fair*; Lu Ma; 1980-5-15)
45. “文化大革命”的混乱只有一次冲击了这个家庭……。（《生命的热量》；陈艰；1980-9-5） The chaos  
of the “Cultural Revolution” only struck this family one time…… (*The Heat of Life*; Jian Chen; 1980-9-5)
46. “可是我，”他摸了摸两颊上的胡须，“象蜗牛背着壳一样，背上了一个分量不轻的家……”（《梦魇》；叶  
至善，叶三午，叶小沫；1980-8-5） “But I,” He touched his beard on his cheeks, “I’m like a snail carrying  
a shell on the back. I have shouldered up a heavy family……” (*Nightmares*; Zhi shan Ye, San wu Ye,  
Xiao mo Ye; 1980-8-5)
47. ……，她要保住这个家。（《渔家女》；于良志，宋瑞斌；1989-12-1） …… She wanted to keep this  
family. (*The Daughter of a Fishing Family*; Liang zhi Yu, Rui bin Song; 1989-12-1)
48. 成年到辈子在外边鬼混，抛家舍业，啥也不管，全靠他媳妇维持那个破烂的家。（《有情人难成眷  
属》；林予，谢树；1987-12-1） He always fiddled around outside, abandoned family and job, and cared  
about nothing. It was his wife who maintained that tattered family. (*All Shall Not Be Well*; Yu Lin, Shu  
Xie; 1987-12-1)
49. “……，这个家有啥恋头，离了吧！”（《有情人难成眷属》；林予，谢树；1987-12-1） “…… This  
family has nothing for you yearn for, so divorce him!” (*All Shall Not Be Well*; Yu Lin, Shu Xie; 1987-12-1)
50. “……，你多知道维着这个家呀！”（《皇城根》；陈建功，赵大年；1992-7-1） “…… How much you  
care to maintain this family!” (*The Imperial City*; Jian gong Chen, Da nian Zhao; 1992-7-1)
51. 一个家，维得住维不住，全看这当小辈儿的有没有维它的心啦……（《皇城根》；陈建功，赵大年；  
1992-7-1） Whether a family can be maintained depends on whether the young generations have a heart to  
maintain it…… (*The Imperial City*; Jian gong Chen, Da nian Zhao; 1992-7-1)
52. 她是在祝月“患难”时选择了他，倒贴着操持起这个家。（《上海新贵族》；樊祥之；1992-11-1） She  
chose him when Zhuyue was in trouble, and handled this family with her own money. (*The New  
Aristocrat of Shanghai*; Xiang zhi Fan; 1992-11-1)
53. 我的丈夫，就是因为走上这条路，把个挺美满的家毁了。（《一个警察的 24 小时》；窦卫华；1993-2-1）  
My husband destroyed the happy family because he went on this road. (*The 24 Hours of a Policeman*; Wei  
hua Dou; 1993-2-1)
54. 家的影子一闪现，……。（《一个警察的 24 小时》；窦卫华；1993-2-1） Once the figure of the family  
flashed by …… (*The 24 Hours of a Policeman*; Wei hua Dou; 1993-2-1)
55. 让于娜脱离这个家，当然更不能容许“离婚”，……！（《一个警察的 24 小时》；窦卫华；1993-2-1）  
Let Na Yu separate herself from this family, but of course divorce is not permitted ……! (*The 24 Hours of  
a Policeman*; Wei hua Dou; 1993-2-1)

56. .... 薛沁芯也因同样的原因而没有迈出会导致家庭崩溃的步子。（《爱路慢慢》；黄志远；1989-10-1） ..... Due to the same reason, Qinxin Xue did not make a further step which could lead to collapse of the family. (*The Slow Road to Love*; Zhi yuan Huang; 1989-10-1)
57. .... 既然县大队遭到覆灭性的灾难，那么一个家庭所受的打击就变得容易忍受 .....？（《生与死》；黎汝清；1984-9-1） ..... Since the County unit suffered a complete destruction, then the strikes a family received became easier to tolerate.....? (*Life and Death*; Ru qing Li; 1984-9-1)
58. 娃娃、家庭都要她一个人操磨。（《人生》；路遥；1982-11-1） Both children and the family needed her to manage by herself. (*Life*; Yao Lu; 1982-11-1)
59. .... 依靠村干部和这些军属烈属组成的革命家庭了； .....。（《染血的土地》；冯德英；1986-10-1） ..... Rely on village cadres and the revolution families made up by soldier's dependants and members of a revolutionary martyr's family; ..... (*The Bloodstained Soil*; De ying Feng; 1986-10-1)
60. 不但结识了冯俭，而且获得了独立生活的能力，使自幼养成的对家庭的依赖变成依恋。（《青春只有一次》；杨镰；1985-11-1） (She) not only got to know Jian Feng, but also acquired the ability to live independently, and changed her reliance on the family developed from her childhood into attachment. (*Youth Comes But Once in a Lifetime*; Lian Yang; 1985-11-1)
61. ....，不仅没有家庭孩子的拖累，在国外还有可论打计算的亲属。（《痴恋》；黄志远；1991-12-1） ..... (He) not only has no burden of family and children, but also has about a dozen relatives overseas. (*The Crazy Love*; Zhi yuan Huang; 1991-12-1)
62. 他迫于社会和家庭的压力，显得异常颓丧，无能为力， .....。（《野女泪》；武宝生；1992-7-1） Forced by the pressure of the society and the family, he seemed to be extremely decadent and incapable of action..... (*The Tears of the Wild Girl*; Bao sheng Wu; 1992-7-1)
63. 有史以来，人们过日子总是要组成一个家庭，因为有其必要和乐趣。（《野女泪》；武宝生；1992-7-1） Since the beginning of history, people always need to make up a family to live, because it is necessary and interesting. (*The Tears of the Wild Girl*; Bao sheng Wu; 1992-7-1)
64. 倘若他现在依然是独身，或者家庭已经破裂，你主动出击，大胆地把他拉入怀抱，坦率地向他倾诉爱情，那样，我支持，我鼓励，甚至愿为你们牵线搭桥。（《野女泪》；武宝生；1992-7-1） If he is still single now or the family is broken, you take the initiative to pull him into your embrace and frankly tell him your love, then I will support you, encourage you, and I am even willing to act as a go-between for you. (*The Tears of the Wild Girl*; Bao sheng Wu; 1992-7-1)
65. ....，也不知拆散多少和睦的家庭。（《野女泪》；武宝生；1992-7-1） ..... Nobody knew how many harmonious families were separated. (*The Tears of the Wild Girl*; Bao sheng Wu; 1992-7-1)
66. “我认为他们都忘了家呢，看来还都是有良心的！”（《新春大喜》；远千里；1963-1-1） “I thought they all forgot families, but it seems that they still have conscience!” (*Great Rejoice of the New Spring*; Qian li Yuan; 1963-1-1)
67. 家庭的秩序，父亲的健康，应该说是她的成绩。（《春天到了鸭绿江》；雷加；1954-9-1） The order

of the family and the health of the father should be considered as her achievement. (*The Spring Arrives the Yalu River*; Jia Lei; 1954-9-1)

68. 他想：若那一阵子，在气头上，果真和他们分了家，那再上哪儿去找这样一个和和睦睦、人口齐全的家庭呀！（《白浪河上》；于良志；1959-6-1） He thought that at that time, if he really divided the family with them out of anger, where he could find such a harmonious, complete family! (*On the White Wave River*; Liang zhi Yu; 1959-6-1)
69. “革命干部连自己的家都保不住！”（《槐树庄》；胡可；1963-10-1） “The revolutionary cadres cannot even protect their own families!” (*The Locust Tree Village*; Ke Hu; 1963-10-1)
70. 然而她肯像他那样离开富贵的家庭而生活在贫苦中吗？（《灭亡》；巴金；1948-6-23） However, could she leave the rich family and live in poverty like him? (*Extinction*; Jin Ba; 1948-6-23)
71. 总之，如果她真爱他，她甚至甘愿抛弃富贵的家庭，来和他共同生活在贫困中，她又能从他得到些什么？（《灭亡》；巴金；1948-6-23） All in all, if she really loved him, and even would like to abandon the rich family to live with him in poverty, what could she get from him? (*Extinction*; Jin Ba; 1948-6-23)
72. 我们要把身心炼成钻石般，不要去想那温软软的家庭！（《最后胜利》；周毓英；1930-3-1） “We have to steel our body and heart into diamond, and do not think of the warm, soft family!” (*The Final Victory*; Yu ying Zhou; 1930-3-1)
73. 那温软软的家庭，正是我们的镣铐啊！（《最后胜利》；周毓英；1930-3-1） The warm, soft family is our shackle! (*The Final Victory*; Yu ying Zhou; 1930-3-1)
74. 想家也不要紧，才离开温软软的家庭，又是从来不曾出过门的贵家小姐，那有不想家的道理。（《最后胜利》；周毓英；1930-3-1） “It’s okay to miss the family. As a noble lady who never went out before, she just left the warm and soft family, it is normal to miss it. (*The Final Victory*; Yu ying Zhou; 1930-3-1)
75. “把我那个家整个毁灭掉，我就可以无牵无挂了。”（《过渡》；丁易；1947-1-1） “Destroy my whole family, and I will be free of all cares.” (*Transition*; Yi Ding; 1947-1-1)
76. 难道我就认这心境上情感坍塌的家一尽始终么？（《诉》；东方隽；1942-11-5） Should I acknowledge this family destroyed and collapsed in the mental state and stick to it until the end? (*Complaints*; Fang jun Dong; 1942-11-5)
77. 有事我来做，你别老拖着爸爸围着小家转。（《甜蜜的事业》；周民震；1980-1-1） If there is something to do, I will manage it. Do not always drag father to circle around the small family. (*The Sweet Career*; Min zhen Zhou; 1980-1-1)
78. ……，这个家庭我一点也不留恋。（《刑场上的婚礼》；陈立德；1979-3-1） …… I don’t yearn for this family at all. (*The Wedding on the Execution Ground*; Li de Chen; 1979-3-1)
79. 今天他就要离开家去参加赤脚医生训练班的学习了。（《红雨》；杨啸，崔嵬；1975-4-1） Today he will leave the family to take part in the study of the training class for barefoot doctors. (*Red Rain*; Xiao Yang, Wei Cui; 1975-4-1)

80. .... 在灶火映照下，那一张早早布满皱纹和色斑的脸，让我感到“家”的沉重。(《魂牵梦绕》；叶延滨；1992-10-3) .... Under the glow of the kitchen fire, the face full of wrinkles and spots at early age made me feel the heaviness of “family”. (*Captivated*; Yan bin Ye; 1992-10-3)
81. 当我弃家出走的时候，大儿子才五岁，还不到上国民小学的年龄。(《离合悲欢的三天》；田野；1984-7-1) When I abandoned the family and ran away, the elder son was only 5 years old, not even old enough to go to elementary school. (*Three Days of Sorrows, Joys, Partings and Meetings*; Ye Tian; 1984-7-1)
82. ...., 多少家庭被拆散，多少亲人遭残杀，.....。(《重访十七度线》；巴金；1966-3-12) .... how many families were broken up and how many relatives were killed cruelly..... (*Revisiting the Seventeen Degree Line*; Jin Ba; 1966-3-12)
83. 有家，谁不想？(《无名岛上的第一代》；杨旭；1964-5-1) Who will not miss the family if a person has one? (*The First Generation on the Nameless Island*; Xu Yang; 1964-5-1)
84. 从此以后，我又暂时的忘记了这小小的家庭。(《我要逃避》；唐弢；1939-11-1) From then on, I temporally forgot this tiny family. (*I Want to Escape*; Tao Tang; 1939-11-1)
85. “我认为美满的小家庭始终是一个幻想。”(《我们在忙什么》；冯和仪；1939-6-1) “I think a satisfactory small family is an illusion all along.” (*What Are We Busy With*; He yi Feng; 1939-6-1)
86. “所以我们必须有个职业，离开家庭到外面去做事呀！”(《我们在忙什么》；冯和仪；1939-6-1) “Therefore, we must have a profession and leave the family to work outside!” (*What Are We Busy With*; He yi Feng; 1939-6-1)
87. 但婆婆日夜挂念着她二十年来含辛茹苦所经营的家，积忧成疾，.....。(《千万妇女中的一个呻吟者》；爱言；1939-3-1) But mother-in-law thought constantly about the family she endured all kinds of hardships to run for more than 20 years, and became sick due to her worries..... (*The Groaning Woman Among the Thousands*; Yan Yuan; 1939-3-1)
88. 我想一个人假若不要家，不是一切都很自由的吗，.....。(《南屋杂记》；麦静；1943-5-1) I think if a person does not want a family, then everything is free..... (*The Notes of The Southern House*; Jing Mai; 1943-5-1)
89. 凭了这平凡的薰染，把我养成了对家的眷念。(《静》；萧菱；1941-4-5) Due to the common influence, I develop the nostalgia towards the family. (*Tranquility*; Ling Xiao; 1941-4-5)
90. 放下提包到高低不平的泥地，呆呆地凝视着我底生疏的，好像已经大大地改变了的家庭。(《父亲》；骆方；1935-3-16) (I) put down the bag on the bumpy muddy land, and stared foolishly at the unfamiliar family, which seemed to have greatly changed. (*Father*; Fang Luo; 1935-3-16)
91. ...., 樱姑和丹忆十年来不变的相爱，甚至于离开家庭而要去尝那友谊的甜蜜；.....。(《友谊》；康嗣群；1933-6-1) .... The unchangeable love between Yinggu and Danyi for more than ten years. (They) even left the family to taste the sweetness of friendship..... (*Friendship*; Si qun Kang; 1933-6-1)

92. ...., 她要自己守一个**家**。(《村野恋人》; 王西彦; 1937-7-20) ..... She had to keep a family by herself. (*Rural Lovers*; Xi yan Wang; 1937-7-20)
93. .... 朋友是有的, 也是同父亲一样平常的人, 所以父亲再来维持**家庭**已经没有那种能力。(《归来之前》; 舒群; 1936-9-20) ..... Father had friends, but they were common people like father, so he did not have such capability to maintain the family. (*Before Coming Back*; Qun Shu; 1936-9-20)
94. 可怜我的母亲, 一面要怀念着在异乡飘流的行人, 一面要照顾**家庭**, 要抚养弟妹; .....! (《还乡》; 王以仁; 1926-3-10) My poor mother was missing the people floating on the foreign land while taking care of the family and raising up my siblings.....! (*Returning to the Hometown*; Yi ren Wang; 1926-3-10)
95. 这时的柳青, **家**破妻亡, .....。(《柳青传略》; 蒙万夫; 1988-9-1) Qing Liu at that time had family broken and wife dead ..... (*A Short Biography of Qing Liu*; Wan fu Meng; 1988-9-1)
96. 她为了给**家里**多挣钱, 好离开这个沉重的**家庭**, 忍受着一切痛苦, 从不放过一个挣钱的机会。(《新风霞回忆录》; 新风霞; 1980-10-1) In order to earn more money for the family and then leave this heavy family, she tolerated all the pains, and never let go of any chance to make money. (*The Memoirs of Fengxia Xin*; Feng xia Xin; 1980-10-1)
97. 在老乔, 贵族之家同他没有任何直接的联系, 却还要硬扯连他的妻子都早已脱离了**家庭**, .....(《从御妹到平民》; 凌冰; 1988-3-1) In Qiao's point of view, the noble family had no direct contact with him, but strongly dragged in the family even his wife had broken away long time ago. (*From a Noble Girl to a Common People*; Bing Ling; 1988-3-1)
98. 当时, 军阀混战, 民不聊生, 一**家一家**都像这个民族一样在悄悄地、静静地土崩瓦解。(《心录的历程》; 刘白羽; 1992-2-20) At that time, warlords were fighting each other, and people were deprived of their means of survival. One family after another crumbled like the nation quietly and silently. (*The History Recorded by Heart*; Bai yu Liu; 1992-2-20)
99. 抵家后, 想起两弟弃**家**远行, .....。(《蔡廷锴自传》; 蔡廷锴; 1985-4-1) When (he) arrived home, and remembered that both of his younger brothers had abandoned families and gone on a long journey..... (*The Autobiography of Tingkai Cai*; Ting kai Cai; 1985-4-1)
100. 夫妻都能苦做苦吃, 渐渐有了点积蓄, 渐渐挣起了一个小小的**家庭**。(《四十自述》; 胡适; 1933-10-1) The couple could bear all the hardships, and gradually had some savings, and then gradually struggled to make up a tiny family. (*Narration at Forty*; Shi Hu; 1933-10-1)
101. 这个**家**也没有什么难照应。(《四十自述》; 胡适; 1933-10-1) There is nothing difficult to take care of this family. (*Narration at Forty*; Shi Hu; 1933-10-1)
102. 举国震惊的大兴安岭森林火灾, 象一只无形的巨手, 扯动着亿万人的心, 也扯动着千万个**家庭**。(《火的洗礼》; 陈万章, 尹利民, 陈连生, 赵月增; 1987-9-22) The Daxinganling forest fire that shocked the whole country was like an invisible hand, which pulled the hearts of billions of people and thousands of families. (*The Baptizing of the Fire*; Wan zhang Chen, Li min Yin, Lian sheng Chen, Yue zeng Zhao; 1987-9-22)

- 103.“事业和**家庭**二者不可兼得。”（《她有多少孩子》；理由；1979-7-1） “The career and the family cannot be obtained at the same time.” (*How Many Children Does She Have*; You Li; 1979-7-1)
- 104.就这样，一个幸福美满的**家庭**又重新组成了。（《新生命的创造者》；雨田，怀发；1985-1-10） In this way, a happy and satisfactory family was made up again. (*The Creator of New Lives*; Tian yu, Fa Huai; 1985-1-10)
- 105.这一斧，把维持了几十年的二十口人的大**家庭**砍散了。（《崛起》；陈忠实；1982-1-5） This strike of the axe chopped apart the big family with more than 20 people, which was maintained dozens of years. (*Rise*; Zhong shi Chen; 1982-1-5)
- 106.这个旧社会里无父的穷苦孤儿，在革命队伍里找到了温暖的**家**。（《女人的魅力》；柯岩；1985-11-20） The poor orphan without a father in the old society found a warm family in the revolution army. (*The Charm of Women*; Yan Ke; 1985-11-20)
- 107.她太爱这个**家**了，……。 （《女人的魅力》；柯岩；1985-11-20） She loved this family so much..... (*The Charm of Women*; Yan Ke; 1985-11-20)
- 108.这火热的生活，这么好的大**家庭**，这流过汗水的土地，她哪舍得。（《上海姑娘在北大荒》；费加；1965-1-5） How can she part with such a fervent life, a great big family and the soil flowed by the sweat. (*Shanghai Girl in the Great Northern Wilderness*; Jia Fei; 1965-1-5)
- 109.……。 不如埋头搞生产，把小**家庭**和儿女照料好，……。 （《武陵儿女杨玉翠》；剑清；1964-3-5） (She)'d rather bury her head in production and take good care of the small family and her children..... (*The Child of Wuling: Yucui Yang*; Qing Jian; 1964-3-5)
- 110.这是预备租给那**家里**有田，靠着收租做“少爷”的人们，组织小**家庭**的！（《天堂中的地狱》；洪深；1936-8-25） These are prepared to rent to those people whose families have fields and live as “childes” on rent collection to make up small families! (*The Hell in the Heaven*; Shen Hong; 1936-8-25)
- 111.我们都知道狗是热情的动物，它爱**家**，爱主人，肯服从。（《猫和狗》；文楚；1937-6-1） We all know that dog is a devoted animal. It loves family and master, and it is obedient. (*Cat and Dog*; Chu Wen; 1937-6-1)
- 112.有的两颚很大，叫做兵蚁，专门保卫我们这个大**家庭**。（《蚂蚁的大家庭生活》；罗西；1956-1-1） Some of the ants have two big jaws and are called soldier ants, whose major job is to protect our big family. (*The Big Family Life of Ants*; Xi Luo; 1956-1-1)
- 113.“她是我们一**家**的主心骨，平时只能在家里坐镇，方能保证**家庭**平安无事；她要是走出门去，我们这个大**家庭**就要散伙了！”（《怪孩子的梦》；李绪萱；1982-11-1） “She is the backbone of our whole family, and only stays at home in normal times in order to guarantee the safety of the family; if she walks out of the door, our big family will split up!” (*The Strange Child's Dream*; Xu xuan Li; 1982-11-1)
- 114.为了重新组织一个幸福的**家庭**，他们满怀信心来到婚姻介绍所。（《喜搭鹊桥》；段大鹏，王启发；1981-2-1） In order to make up again a happy family, they come to the marriage agency with full confidence. (*Matchmaking*; Da peng Duan, Qi fa Wang; 1981-2-1)

- 115.俺梦也梦不见这样的家……是不是那个电话员说的新中国就是像这样的一个大**家**呢？（《今夜星光灿烂》；白桦；1979-3-25） I cannot even dream of such a family…… Is the new China talked by the telephone operator a big family like this? (*It Is Starry Tonight*; Hua Bai; 1979-3-25)
116. ……，我跟你结婚是共同组织一个**家庭**，……。（《这二位……》；王鸣录；1990-2-15） …… I marry you to make up a family together…… (*This Couple……* ; Ming lu Wang; 1990-2-15)
117. ……，说明社会主义大**家庭**的温暖哪。（《歌的故事》；潘贵才，莫宏，禹启政；1989-12-15） …… It shows the warmth of the socialist big family. (*The Story of the Song*; Gui cai Pan, Hong Mo, Qi zheng Yu; 1989-12-15)
- 118.你呀，就想到自己那个**家**，就没想到社会主义大**家庭**。（《街道食堂》；张西莲，田陇；1958-11-1） You only think about your own family, not the socialist big family. (*The Dining Hall in the Street*; Xi lian Zhang, Long Tian; 1958-11-1)
- 119.您要是打算去的话呢，我给您照应着**家**。（《误点》；宋凤仪；1959-3-1） If you plan to go, I will take care of the family. (*Behind Schedule*; Feng yi Song; 1959-3-1)
- 120.对偶**家庭**本身是脆弱的和不稳定的，……。（《家庭学概论》；高健生，刘宁；1986-7-1） Pairing families are themselves fragile and unstable…… (*An Introduction to Family Studies*; Jian sheng Gao, Ning Liu; 1986-7-1)
- 121.因而，高离婚率从总的方面反映了资本主义社会社会风气败坏和**家庭**的破裂；……。（《家庭学概论》；高健生，刘宁；1986-7-1） Therefore, high divorce rate in general reflects the corruption of the capitalist social customs and the break of families…… (*An Introduction to Family Studies*; Jian sheng Gao, Ning Liu; 1986-7-1)
- 122.……，随着生产力的发展，一定的**家庭**形态决定着一定的家务劳动。（《家庭学概论》；高健生，刘宁；1986-7-1） …… With the development of the productivity, certain family form determines certain housework. (*An Introduction to Family Studies*; Jian sheng Gao, Ning Liu; 1986-7-1)
- 123.……，大多不依赖**家庭**，一到十七八岁就出门自谋衣食，……。（《婚姻学》；朱福成；1989-4-1） …… Most of (them) did not rely on families and went out to make a living by themselves when they reached seventeen or eighteen years old. (*Marriage Studies*; Fu cheng Zhu; 1989-4-1)
- 124.……，如此开始一个新的**家庭**的循环。（《文化人类学》；童恩正；1989-3-1） …… In this way, a new family's circle started. (*Cultural Anthropology*; En zheng Tong; 1989-3-1)
- 125.为了迅速恢复发展国民经济，更需要维护祖国大**家庭**的统一。（《科学社会主义》；孔繁锦；1985-4-1） In order to recover the national economy quickly, it is more necessary to maintain the unification of the big family of the country. (*Scientific Socialism*; Fan jin Kong; 1985-4-1)
- 126.此外，**家庭**的突变，例如家中有人生病或死亡，经济状况恶化等等，都会影响人们的思想情绪。（《思想政治工程学》；徐昶，单荣范，王传遂；1986-6-1） Moreover, the sudden changes of the family, for example: Somebody in the family is sick or dead or the economic situation worsens and so on, will affect



- people's mood. (*The Engineering of the Ideological and Political Work*; Chang Xu, Rong fan Shan, Chuan sui Wang; 1986-6-1)
- 127.家庭是否团结和睦，对每个家庭成员的思想情绪都有一定的影响。（《思想政治工程学》；徐昶，单荣范，王传遂；1986-6-1） Whether the family is united and harmonious has certain effects on the mood of every family member. (*The Engineering of the Ideological and Political Work*; Chang Xu, Rong fan Shan, Chuan sui Wang; 1986-6-1)
- 128.“婚姻、家庭、母亲和儿童受国家的保护。”（《思想政治》（初中三年级全一册）；1992-6-1） “Marriage, family, mother and child are protected by the country.” (*Politics (for junior middle school students)*; 1992-6-1)
- 129.他宣扬世界末日和最后审判即将到来；主张不要财产，不要家庭；……。（《东正教和东正教在中国》；张绥；1985-11-1） He advocated the coming of the end of the world and the final judgment, and suggested that people should not want property or family…… (*Orthodox and Orthodox in China*; Sui Zhang; 1985-11-1)
- 130.…… 只有离婚才能解除他们的痛苦，使各自另择配偶，重新组织理想的家庭。（《法学通论》；陈春龙，肖贤富；1981-6-1） Only divorce can relieve their pains and let them choose other mates to make up ideal families again. (*General Theories of the Law*; Chun long Chen, Xian fu Xiao; 1981-6-1)
- 131.婚姻关系不同于朋友关系、同志关系、上下级关系、党派关系等其它社会关系，它是男女之间以互为配偶、组织家庭为目的的两性结合。（《法学通论》；陈春龙，肖贤富；1981-6-1） Marriage is different from the social relations between friends, colleagues, superior and subordinate, and party affiliation. It is the unity of two sexes with the purpose of choosing a mate and making up a family. (*General Theories of the Law*; Chun long Chen, Xian fu Xiao; 1981-6-1)
- 132.……，使广大老年人感到社会主义大家庭的温暖。（《法学通论》；陈春龙，肖贤富；1981-6-1） …… (It) made the old people feel the warmth of the socialist big family. (*General Theories of the Law*; Chun long Chen, Xian fu Xiao; 1981-6-1)
- 133.由于氏族婚姻制度逐步发展为一夫一妻制，形成一家一户的小家庭。（《法学概论》；唐静权，邓运贵；1986-10-1） The Clan marriage system gradually developed into monogamy, so small families were formed. (*Introduction to the Law*; Jing quan Tang, Yun gui Deng; 1986-10-1)
- 134.早在共和国末期，法律顾及到旧式家庭日益解体的实际情况，……。（《罗马法》；1983-2-1） As early as the end of the republic, the law considered the real situation that the old style families were disintegrated with each passing day…… (*The Rome Law*; 1983-2-1)
- 135.由于均田制和新的租调制是以一夫一妇的小家庭为受田纳租单位，不再有户等的差别，……。（《简明中国古代史》；1982-11-1） The Average - land System and the new tax system took small families with a husband and a wife as the units for receiving the land and paying the tax, and there was no difference among ranks of the families…… (*A Simple History of Ancient China*; 1982-11-1)
- 136.……，而每个“仙人柱”都是由一夫一妻或夫妻及其子女组成的小家庭。（《鄂伦春社会的发展》；秋浦；1980-10-1） …… Every “columnar cactus” was a small family made by a husband and a wife with

their children. (*The Development of Oroqen Society*; Pu Qiu; 1980-10-1)

137....., 是正在形成中的个体**家庭**。(《鄂伦春社会的发展》; 秋浦; 1980-10-1) ..... (It) was the individual families being formed. (*The Development of Oroqen Society*; Pu Qiu; 1980-10-1)

138.由**家庭**演变的简要过程看出,**家庭**形态的变化,直接为社会生产方式的变化所影响和制约。(《中国宏观社会学》; 程继隆; 1990-11-1) From the simple process of the evolution of family, the changes of family form were directly influenced and constrained by the changes of social modes of production. (*Chinese Macro Sociology*; Ji long Cheng; 1990-11-1)

139.患儿离开**家庭**,例如上学、住院、参加夏令营或下乡劳动等时,哮喘发作反而减轻。(《医学心理学概论》; 严和钺; 1983-4-1) The sick children left the families, for example, they went to school, were hospitalized, joined a summer camp or worked in the countryside and so on, but their asthma attacks would be relieved. (*Introduction to Medical Psychology*; He qin Yan; 1983-4-1)

140.同样,封建**家庭**的家长,也把**家庭**作为自己的私产,.....。(《中国宏观社会学》; 程继隆; 1990-11-1) Similarly, the leaders of feudal families took the families as their own property. (*Chinese Macro Sociology*; Ji long Cheng; 1990-11-1)

141..... 可能一辈子无子女,或者是有子女但长大以后离开**家庭**;.....。(《妇女心理学》; 陈元晖; 1987-4-1) ..... It is possible that they won't have children for the whole life, or their children have left families after growing up..... (*Women Psychology*; Yuan hui Chen; 1987-4-1)

142....., 三分之二的少年犯出身于有缺陷的**家庭**。(《中小学比较教育学》; 商继宗; 1992-2-1) ..... Two thirds of the juvenile delinquents came from defective families. (*Comparative Education in Elementary and Secondary Schools*; Ji zong Shang; 1992-2-1)

143.所谓“有缺陷的**家庭**”,是指父母一方或双方酗酒、父母感情破裂、父母离婚、没有结过婚的男子或妇女带着孩子的不完全型**家庭**。(《中小学比较教育学》; 商继宗; 1992-2-1) The so called “defective families” refer to the incomplete families which have alcoholic parent(s), divorce or unmarried men or women with children. (*Comparative Education in Elementary and Secondary Schools*; Ji zong Shang; 1992-2-1)

144....., 这将引起城乡**家庭**结构的变化以及提高**家庭**素质,.....。(《教育社会学概论》; 裴时英; 1990-5-1) ..... It will lead to the changes of the urban and rural family structure and increase the quality of family..... (*An Introduction of Educational Sociology*; Shi ying Pei; 1990-5-1)

145.研究**家庭**结构、关系和功能,必然要引入**家庭**本质的探究。(《教育社会学概论》; 裴时英; 1990-5-1) It is inevitable to draw the exploration of the nature of family into the research of the structure, relation and function of the family. (*An Introduction of Educational Sociology*; Shi ying Pei; 1990-5-1)

146....., 他们可以重新组成幸福的**家庭**。(《编剧概论》; 马琦; 1982-11-1) ..... They can make up a happy family again. (*Introduction to Playwriting*; Qi Ma; 1982-11-1)

147.配偶双方履行一定的婚姻手续,组成对偶**家庭**。(《民俗学概论》; 集体; 1987-1-1) The both spouses carry out certain procedures of marriage, and make up a pairing family. (*The Handbook of*

- 148.冰冷的**家庭**，刻薄的语言常常使得罗暗自落泪，精神上受到严重的创伤。 (《我们就是原告》；陈大文; 1983-12-15) The icy cold family and harsh words always made Luo cry in secret and suffer great trauma mentally. (*We Are the Plaintiffs*; Da wen Chen; 1983-12-15)
149. ...., 忠于祖国，爱护**家庭**， .....。 (《尊敬和赡养父母是我国人民优良的道德传统》；朱伯昆; 1956-12-16) ..... Be loyal to the native country and protect family..... (*Respect and Support Parents are the Good Moral Traditions of Our People*; Bo kun Zhu; 1956-12-16)
- 150.伴随着**家庭**的产生和一夫一妻制的形成，原始公社的尊老和养老的美德，又通过尊敬和赡养父母的形式表现出来。(《尊敬和赡养父母是我国人民优良的道德传统》；朱伯昆; 1956-12-16) With the emergence of family and the formation of monogamy, the virtue of respecting and supporting the old people of primitive commune time expresses itself again through the form of respecting and supporting parents. (*Respect and Support Parents are the Good Moral Traditions of Our People*; Bo kun Zhu; 1956-12-16)
151. ...., 在商品经济下，人们面临的是一个千变万化的市场，而不是静止不变的一个乡村、**家庭**。(《为“冒险”喝彩》；迎达; 1984-12-11) ..... Under commodity economy, people are facing with a ever-changing market, not a static village or family. (*Applause for "Adventure"*; Da Ying; 1984-12-11)
- 152.那时，资本主义的自由竞争引起了**家庭**的危机和解体，资产阶级家庭经济学正是适应稳定**家庭**、巩固资本主义社会制度的需要而产生的。 (《家庭学的缘起和演进》；汤为本; 1986-7-1) At that time, the free competition of capitalism led to the crisis and disintegration of family, and capitalist family economics came into being to satisfy the need of stabilizing families and the capitalist social systems. (*The Origin and Evolution of Family Study*; Wei ben Tang; 1986-7-1)
153. .... 结构功能学派则将**家庭**放在更大的社会环境中加以考察和研究，认为**家庭**与社会相互作用、相互依存。(《家庭学的缘起和演进》；汤为本; 1986-7-1) .....Structural Functionism group put family into bigger social environment to investigate and research, and consider that family and society interact and rely on each other to exist. (*The Origin and Evolution of Family Study*; Wei ben Tang; 1986-7-1)
- 154.到五十年代末，又提出**家庭**消亡的问题，好像这是很快会实现的事，即使马上消亡不了，**家庭**也好象是个累赘，是个包袱。(《建立社会主义的家庭教育学》；余心言; 1982-4-20) At the end of 1950s, the issue of the extinction of family was raised up as if it were something realized very soon. Family seemed to be an encumbrance, a cloth-wrapped bundle, even if it would not extinct right away. (*Construction of the Socialist Family Education*; Xin yan Yu; 1982-4-20)
- 155.细细算来，这个**大家**还由三、四个小**家**组成。(《巴金和他的儿孙们》；黄平; 1992-12-6) To calculate carefully, this big family was made up by three or four small families. (*Jin Ba and His Descendents*; Ping Huang; 1992-12-6)
- 156.他所崇信的价值观念有三条：眷恋**家庭**，努力工作，热爱祖国。(《由“四星红旗”想到》；华丁; 1989-4-3) The values he believes in has three points: be sentimentally attached to family, work hard and love the country. (*From the "Four-Star Red Flag"*; Ding Hua; 1989-4-3)
- 157.今年元月，李扎约和彭石妹自愿登记结婚，组成了战马坡震后第一个合二为一的新**家庭**。(《阳光

- 照耀回归线》；王青海，周晓频，赵维；1989-12-25） In this January, Za-yue Li and Shi-mei Peng voluntarily registered to marry, and made up the first new family out of two broken ones in Zhanmapo after the earthquake. (*The Sun Is Shining on the Regression Line*; Qing hai Wang, Xiao pin Zhou, Wei Zhao; 1989-12-25)
158. 每个“部落”又由无数小家庭组成。（《群猴夺魁》；周倩萍；1952-4-20） Every “tribe” was made up by numerous small families. (*Monkeys Contend for Championship*; Qian ping Zhou; 1952-4-20)
159. 亲爱的朋友们，我有一个好家庭，我很珍惜它，并把它作为鞭策自己前进的力量。（《不骄傲，继续前进》；王桂芹；1958-5-1） Dear friends, I have a good family and I treasure it very much. I take it as the power to spur me on to advance. (*Don't be Proud, Advance Further*; Gui qin Wang; 1958-5-1)
160. 蓝为洁从干校回来，重整这个经济上早已崩溃的家庭。（《汤晓丹一家》；江迅；1984-5-10） Wei-jie Lan came back from a cadre school, and reformed the family which had already collapsed economically. (*The Family of Xiaodan Tang*; Xun Jiang; 1984-5-10)
161. ....，这个家是温暖的。（《汤晓丹一家》；江迅；1984-5-10） .... This family is warm. (*The Family of Xiaodan Tang*; Xun Jiang; 1984-5-10)
162. 张德寰两手空空地离开了那个家。（《一位工程师的命运》；郭本余；1988-9-25） Dehuan Zhang left that family empty handed. (*The Destiny of An Engineer*; Ben yu Guo; 1988-9-25)
163. 这一切，使我们深深感到社会主义大家庭的温暖，.....。（《这是我们应尽的责任》；周连珊，张晶元；1960-3-16） All of these made us feel deeply the warmth of the big socialist family..... (*This Is the Duty We Must Fulfill*; Lian shan Zhou, Jing yuan Zhang; 1960-3-16)
164. 后来许多人拉家带口，还要上夜大、奔学历的时候，他又揣着大学毕业的文凭在令人羡慕的单位里出出进进了。（《来自“天堂”的挽歌》；杨泉福，王燕生；1984-2-11） Later on, when many people had to drag the family and went to evening universities to study for a degree, he went to work in an admirable place with a college diploma. (*A Lament from the “Heaven”*; Quan fu Yang, Yan sheng Wang; 1984-2-11)
165. 于是，我含恨离开祖国，抛弃家庭。（《“嫦娥”二号行动》；李树喜；1980-9-1） Therefore, I left my country and abandoned the family with hatred. (*Chang'e No. 2 Mission*; Shu xi Li; 1980-9-1)
166. 他知道我是林丽的邻居，又是同事、好友，就托我好好照料她的家。（《失踪之谜》；叶永烈；1981-12-1） He knew I was the neighbor of Li Lin, and also her colleague and friend. So he trusted me to look after her family. (*The Mysterious Disappearance*; Yong lie Ye; 1981-12-1)
167. ....，并且如‘八叠球菌’和‘寄腐杆菌’等竟毫无顾忌地就在厨房里组织新家庭，生出无数菌儿菌孙。（《我们肚子上的食客》；高士其；1978-9-20） .... Moreover, sarcinae and rot bacteria were free to make up new families in the kitchen, and gave birth to numerous bacteria children. (*The Parasite in Our Belly*; Shi qi Gao; 1978-9-20)
168. 组成家庭后，爱情还能常青吗？（《爱情必须时时更新、生长、创造》；笑冬；1981-5-26） After family is made up, is love going to be enduring? (*Love Needs to Refresh, Grow and Create*; Dong Xiao;

1981-5-26)

- 169.事实上,事业与**家庭**两者兼顾也是可以做到的。(《“二保一”果真是一剂良药吗?》;姚国础;1985-10-15) In fact, it is possible to take care of both the career and the family. (*Is It Really A Good Remedy to "Guarantee One From Two"?*; Guo chu Yao; 1985-10-15)
170. ...., 或屈服于**家庭**社会压力, ....。(《要尊重人的情感》;孙绍振;1981-3-1) ..... Or yield to the pressure of the family and society..... (*The Human Emotions Need to be Respected*; Shao zhen Sun; 1981-3-1)
- 171.在组成小**家庭**后的共同生活中,最直接、最大量遇到的是现实的生活。(《第三者插入的根子在哪里》;1982-8-1) In the common life after making up the small family, the most direct and frequent encounter is the real life. (*Where Is the Root of the Third Lover Outside Marriage*; 1982-8-1)
- 172.我巡视一下,看不出我所想象的**家**的味道; .....? (《在长白山森林里》;王世阁;1957-1-1) I made an inspection tour, and could not see the taste of the family in my imagination.....? (*In the Forest of Changbai Mountain*; Shi ge Wang; 1957-1-1)
173. .... 现代生活的享受欲望对生育的抑制甚至使有些人不愿组成**家庭**等等, ....。(《当代中国的人口》;1988-2-1) ..... The desire to enjoy the modern life restrained people's wish of reproduction, and some people even did not want to make up families..... (*Population of Modern China*; 1988-2-1)
- 174.而娜拉的出走,是喜剧式的摆脱了玩偶地位,又是悲剧式的抛弃了**家庭**和孩子。(《文学概论》;蔡仪;1979-6-1) The running away of Nora got rid of her position as a doll in a comedy way, but it was also a tragic way to abandon the family and children. (*An Introduction of Literature*; Yi Cai; 1979-6-1)
- 175.少数民族多同汉族交错分布,形成一个多民族的和睦的**大家庭**。(《中国地理》(初中上册);1992-6-1) Minorities and the Han nation are living together intermixed, and formed a multiracial, harmonious big family. (*Chinese Geography (for middle school students)*; 1992-6-1)
176. ...., 但他写一个书香门第的文人,怎样通过**家庭**的变迁,时代的变化,逐步完成了自己的人生追求, ....。(文汇报;1991-4-17) .....But he wrote about how a bookman from a scholarly family gradually accomplished his own life pursuit through the vicissitudes of the family and the changes of the times..... (*Wenhui Daily*; 1991-4-17)
- 177.事实上,个体的**家庭**不是产生在国家之前,而是和国家同时产生的,它们都是私有财产巩固和发展的结果。(《在国家和法的理论问题上驳斥右派谬论》;1958-6-1) In fact, individual families were produced not before but at the same time with the state. Both of them were the results of the consolidation and development of private property. (*Denounce the Right Wing's False Theories on the Issue of the State and the Law*; 1958-6-1)
- 178.如结婚产生**家庭**,剥削产生阶级,杀人构成犯罪, ....。(《社会学》;刘献君,谢圣明;1987-9-1) Just as marriage produces family, exploitation produces classes, and murder constitutes crime..... (*Sociology*; Xian jun Liu, Sheng ming Xie; 1987-9-1)
- 179.逐渐地,大**家庭**组织中也发生了“功能异化”。(《权力的祭坛》;崔文华;1988-12-1) Gradually,

“functional alienation” occurred in the organization of big families. (*The Altar of Power*; Wen hua Cui; 1988-12-1)

- 180.反之，家庭职能和作用的发挥、结构和关系的变动，也会在一定程度上影响社会的巩固和发展。  
(《家庭学的缘起和演进》；汤为本; 1986-7-1) On the contrary, the carrying out of family functions and the changes of family structure and relations will to some degree influence the consolidation and development of the society. (*The Origin and Evolution of Family Study*; Wei ben Tang; 1986-7-1)
- 181.家庭的性质、形式、结构、职能的变化，归根结底要从社会生产方式的性质和变化中得到说明。(《中国宏观社会学》；程继隆; 1990-11-1) The changes in the family's nature, form, structure and functions will after all get explained from the nature and the changes of the social production method. (*Chinese Macro Sociology*; Ji long Cheng; 1990-11-1)
- 182.因此，决不能低估家庭对人的思想形成发展的特殊作用。(《思想政治工程学》；徐昶，单荣范，王传遂; 1986-6-1) Therefore, the special effect that a family can exert on the formation and development of a person's thoughts should never be underestimated. (*The Engineering of the Ideological and Political Work*; Chang Xu, Rong fan Shan, Chuan sui Wang; 1986-6-1)
183. ....，并且开始使用调查方法和家庭开支分析技术来分析家庭。(《家庭学概论》；高健生，刘宁; 1986-7-1) ..... Moreover, investigation methods and family expense analysis technology are applied to analyze families. (*An Introduction to Family Studies*; Jian sheng Gao, Ning Liu; 1986-7-1)
- 184.例如结构功能主义的创始人帕森斯（1902-1979）反对纯粹依靠资料的简单积累，而是把家庭、社会等组织作为整体来研究的原则；美国学者伯杰斯把家庭视作一个相互影响的人格统一体的“相互影响论”，.....。(《家庭学概论》；高健生，刘宁; 1986-7-1) For example, the founder of structural functionalism Parsons opposed the reliance on the simple accumulation of materials and took a research principle of regarding the organizations like family, society and so on as a whole; American scholar Burgess's “theory of interaction” saw family as a unity of interactive personalities..... (*An Introduction to Family Studies*; Jian sheng Gao, Ning Liu; 1986-7-1)
185. .... 研究范围包括家庭的本质、职能和结构，家庭制度的起源、演化和未来发展，以及有关的各种现实问题。(《家庭学的缘起和演进》；汤为本; 1986-7-1) ..... The range of the research includes the nature, function and structure of family, the origin, evolution and future development of family system as well as relevant various realistic problems. (*The Origin and Evolution of Family Study*; Wei ben Tang; 1986-7-1)
- 186.改革、开放，使人们、使无数家庭逐步富裕起来，又逐渐把人们、把家庭投入市场。(《独立意识悄悄走进家庭》；霍纲; 1992-10-1) Reforms and the opening-up made people and numerous families gradually become rich, and then gradually put people and families on the market. (*The Awareness of Independence Quietly Enter into Families*; Gang Huo; 1992-10-1)

### Appendix 3: The linguistic examples of FAMILY IS A POSSESSED OBJECT metaphor in the Modern Chinese Corpus

1. 他回答：“我哪有**家**啊，我也不知道将来干啥。”（中国青年报；1992-3-5） He replied: “I have no family, and I don’t know what to do in the future, either.” (*China Youth Daily*; 1992-3-5)
2. 这回我有**家**了！（中国青年报；1992-3-5） This time I have a family! (*China Youth Daily*; 1992-3-5)
3. 爸爸，我想有个温暖的**家**……（中国青年报；1992-5-26） Father, I want to have a warm family…… (*China Youth Daily*; 1992-5-26)
4. ……，都有了自己的**家**，也有了新的楼房，……。 （文汇报；1983-12-30） (They) all have (their) own families, and also have new block of flats …… (*Wenhui Daily*; 1983-12-30)
5. “怎么，你没有**家**？” （《大学春秋》；康式昭，奎曾；1981-11-1） “What? You do not have a family?” (*The Spring and Autumn in the University*; Shi zhao Kang, Zeng Kui; 1981-11-1)
6. 有过两个**家**：一个，我抛弃了它；一个，它离开了我。 （《大学春秋》；康式昭，奎曾；1981-11-1） I have had two families: one was abandoned by me; the other one left me. (*The Spring and Autumn in the University*; Shi zhao Kang, Zeng Kui; 1981-11-1)
7. ……，有了娃娃就有了寄托，也就有了一个**家**，……。 （《福林和他的婆姨》；朱晓平；1988-2-1） …… The child was the anchorage of their hopes, and (they) also have a family…… (*Fulin and His Wife*; Xiao ping Zhu; 1988-2-1)
8. 二十二年来，他没有一个**家**，……。 （《淡淡的晨雾》；张抗抗；1981-11-1） For the past 22 years, he had not had a family …… (*The Thin Morning Mist*; Kang kang Zhang; 1981-11-1)
9. …… 他没**家**没业，……。 （《山林雾茫茫》；莫伸；1982-3-1） …… He did not have a family or a career…… (*Misty Forest*; Shen Mo; 1982-3-1)
10. 我有了自己的**家**。 （《初夏的重逢》；梁沪生；1987-12-5） I have my own family. (*Reunion in the Early Summer*; Hu sheng Liang; 1987-12-5)
11. 你现在有了父亲，有了自己的**家**……！ （《纸船儿漂》；周昌义；1983-2-1） Now you have a father and your own family……! (*The Floating Paper Boat*; Chang yi Zhou; 1983-2-1)
12. 从此，我再没**家**了。 （《纸船儿漂》；周昌义；1983-2-1） From now on, I do not have a family any more. (*The Floating Paper Boat*; Chang yi Zhou; 1983-2-1)
13. “我点播一首：《我想有个**家**》！” （《一个警察的 24 小时》；窦卫华；1993-2-1） “I request one song: ‘I want to have a family’!” (*The 24 Hours of a Policeman*; Wei hua Dou; 1993-2-1)
14. ……，她一边适应节奏，一边蕴酿《我想有个**家**》的情感基调。 （《一个警察的 24 小时》；窦卫华；1993-2-1） …… She was adapting herself to the rhythm while brewing the emotional tone for the song ‘I

want to have a family'. (The 24 Hours of a Policeman; Wei hua Dou; 1993-2-1)

15. ...., 那种由于无家而盼家的心绪, 迟迟不肯到来, 倒是一想到家、.....。 (《一个警察的 24 小时》; 窦卫华; 1993-2-1) ..... The mood of expecting a family because of not having one was reluctant to come. Yet once (she) thought of family..... (The 24 Hours of a Policeman; Wei hua Dou; 1993-2-1)
16. ...., 因为她已经有了丈夫, 有了家庭, 有了儿女。 (《爱路慢慢》; 黄志远; 1989-10-1) ....., because she has already had a husband, a family and children. (The Slow Road to Love; Zhi yuan Huang; 1989-10-1)
17. 可是, 他不是已经有了新的家庭了吗? (《野女泪》; 武宝生; 1992-7-1) But, hasn't he had a new family? (The Tears of the Wild Girl; Bao sheng Wu; 1992-7-1)
18. ...., 他有了家, .....。 (《东线》; 寒风; 1955-12-1) .....He has had a family..... (The Eastern Line; Feng Han; 1955-12-1)
19. 我们也有家! (《槐树庄》; 胡可; 1963-10-1) We also have families! (The Locust Tree Village; Ke Hu; 1963-10-1)
20. 他这位洒脱惯了的诗人在此时忽然感到有一个家--父母兄弟姐妹的家, .....。 (《子夜》; 茅盾; 1933-4-1) As a poet used to freedom and ease, he at this moment suddenly felt to have a family—a family of parents and siblings ..... (Midnight; Dun Mao; 1933-4-1)
21. ....要是没有这个家就好了! (《过渡》; 丁易; 1947-1-1) .....It would be good if he did not have such a family! (Transition; Yi Ding; 1947-1-1)
22. 真的, 要是没有这家, 那就真好了。 (《过渡》; 丁易; 1947-1-1) Really, if he did not have this family, it would be great. (Transition; Yi Ding; 1947-1-1)
23. “是的, 不过真的要是没有这个家, 我的心中又有一点不情愿。” (《春草》; 靳以; 1990-12-1) “Yes. But if I really did not have this family, there would be unwillingness in my heart.” (Spring Grass; Yi Jin; 1990-12-1)
24. ...., 想起我们大家多是没家的人, ..... (《洋铁桶的故事》; 柯蓝; 1990-12-1) ..... (I) recalled that most of us did not have a family..... (The Story of the Western Metal Pail; Lan Ke; 1990-12-1)
25. ...., 特别地感到自己无依归, 是没得家的人。 (《饥饿的郭素娥》; 路翎; 1990-12-1) ..... (He) especially felt that he had no place to return or reply on. He was a person without a family. (The Hungry Su'e Guo; Ling Lu; 1990-12-1)
26. 我没有所谓家。 (《腐蚀》; 茅盾; 1990-12-1) I don't have the so called family. (Corruption; Dun Mao; 1990-12-1)
27. 如今由于小女儿自己已有了家, 又忙于工作, 不能经常陪伴她, .....。 (《明月伴诗魂》; 赵清阁; 1984-11-1) Now since the youngest daughter has her own family and is busy with work, she cannot accompany her so often..... (The Spirit of the Poem with The Moon; Qing ge Zhao; 1984-11-1)



28. 有了这一切,就有了**家**,……。 (《魂牵梦绕》; 叶延滨; 1992-10-3) Once you have everything, you have a family..... (*Captivated*; Yan bin Ye; 1992-10-3)
29. 有**家**, 谁不想? (《无名岛上的第一代人》; 杨旭; 1964-5-1) Who will not miss the family if a person has one? (*The First Generation on the Nameless Island*; Xu Yang; 1964-5-1)
30. 要是我们有个小**家庭**..... (《我们在忙什么》; 冯和仪; 1939-6-1) What if we had a small family..... (*What Are We Busy With*; He yi Feng; 1939-6-1)
31. .... 我们有了**家庭**的人, 如蜗牛背了壳, 移动起来总不十分便利, 你把你的**家**安顿到故乡去, 你将准备远行..... (《别懋庸》; 曹聚仁; 1937-7-10) .... We are people having families, who are like snails with their shells. It was not convenient for us to move. You settled your family down in your hometown, and then you prepared to go on a long journey..... (*Don't Praise the Success*; Ju ren Cao; 1937-7-10)
32. 他羡慕我一个年轻人, 有**家**有室, .....。 (《罗马游简》; 李健吾; 1935-1-1) He envied me that I was a young man, and had a family..... (*The Short Traveling Record in Rome*; Jian wu Li; 1935-1-1)
33. ...., 偎在路的两边的尽是一些没有**家**的人。 (《雨夜》; 靳以; 1936-9-5) .... the people leaning close to both sides of the road were people without a family. (*The Rainy Night*; Yi Jin; 1936-9-5)
34. 有好多已经有了**家庭**的, .....。 (《意大利的葡萄节》; 柏容; 1939-4-16) There were many people who already had families..... (*The Italian Grape Festival*; Rong Bo; 1939-4-16)
35. “一个多好的孩子, 要是有个条件好点儿的**家庭**, .....!” (《野猫山悲歌》; 牧笛; 1987-3-5) “(He was) such a good child. If only he could have a better family.....!” (*The Sad Songs of the Wild Cat Hill*; Di Mu; 1987-3-5)
36. ...., 不过在现在, 它没有群, 只有个主人有个**家**, 所以它的德性, 也就移向到主人和主人的**家**上面发挥了。 (《猫和狗》; 文楚; 1937-6-1) .... But now, it does not have a herd, only a master and the master's family. Therefore, the virtues of a dog will move to its master and the master's family. (*Cat and Dog*; Chu Wen; 1937-6-1)
37. 你是无法知道他们的姓名的, 因为他们根本没有姓名, 也没有**家庭**, .....。 (《似人非人》; 封根泉; 1979-1-1) You cannot know their name, because they do not have a name or families..... (*Like a Human, Not a Human*; Gen quan Feng; 1979-1-1)
38. 我们每个人都有自己的**家庭**。 (《火车头的一家》; 唐南萍, 陆若冰; 1981-10-1) Everybody of us has his or her own family. (*The Family of the Locomotive*; Nan ping Tang, Ruo bing Lu; 1981-10-1)
39. 他**家**的子女....., 各有各的**家庭**, ..... (《老寿星传奇》; 李凤琪; 1990-9-15) The children of his family.....all have their own families ..... (*The Legend of the God of Longevity*; Feng qi Li; 1990-9-15)
40. 要不是社会主义制度, 我能有这个**家**吗? (《歌的故事》; 潘贵才, 莫宏, 禹启政; 1989-12-15) If there were no socialist system, how can I have such a family? (*The Story of the Song*; Gui cai Pan, Hong Mo, Qi zheng Yu; 1989-12-15)

41. 多少同胞没有了家？（《七月流火》；于伶；1963-3-1） How many of the fellow people do not have a family? (*The Burning July*; Ling Yu; 1963-3-1)
42. ……，我要是有你那样的家就好啦！（《迎春花》；翟剑萍；1964-6-1）…… It would be great if I had a family like yours. (*The Primroses*; Jian ping Di; 1964-6-1)
43. 你还有家没家？（《汾水长流》；禾土，任宝贤；1964-4-1） Do you have a family or not? (*The Flowing Fen River*; Tu He, Bao xian Ren; 1964-4-1)
44. 那我就没个自己的家了？（《街道食堂》；张西莲，田陇；1958-11-1） Then I do not have my own family? (*The Dining Hall in the Street*; Xi lian Zhang, Long Tian; 1958-11-1)
45. 人总应该有个家吧！（《街道食堂》；张西莲，田陇；1958-11-1） A person should have a family after all! (*The Dining Hall in the Street*; Xi lian Zhang, Long Tian; 1958-11-1)
46. 就你有个家呀？（《跃进号》；何求；1958-11-1） Only you have a family? (*Leaps and Bounds*; Qiu He, 1958-11-1)
47. 我老了，没家没业的；……（《原野》；曹禺；1947-5-1） I am old, and do not have a family or a career; …… (*The Boundless Plain*; Yu Cao; 1947-5-1)
48. 做女人的，总想着有这么一个家，再有上这么几个孩子，……！（《女人女人》；洪深；1946-1-1） As a woman, anyone would always think of having such a family and then several children like them……! (*Women, Women*; Shen Hong; 1946-1-1)
49. 有一个家再有几个孩子，……。 （《女人女人》；洪深；1946-1-1） Have a family and several children…… (*Women, Women*; Shen Hong; 1946-1-1)
50. 因为她没有家庭，没有孩子，……。 （《女人女人》；洪深；1946-1-1） Because she did not have a family or child…… (*Women, Women*; Shen Hong; 1946-1-1)
51. 他已经没有家，……。 （《南冠草》；郭沫若；1947-8-1） He had already had no family…… (*Nanguan Grass*; Mo ruo Guo; 1947-8-1)
52. ……，我没有国，没有家，……？ （《南冠草》；郭沫若；1947-8-1）…… I do not have a country or family……? (*Nanguan Grass*; Mo ruo Guo; 1947-8-1)
53. 家是早已没有了，……。 （《春风秋雨》；阿英；1985-12-1） (I) have had no family for some time…… (*Spring Wind, Autumn Rain*; Ying A; 1985-12-1)
54. 他可以没有妻子、家庭和子女；……。 （《生命美学》；潘知常；1991-5-1） It was okay for him if he did not have a wife, family and children…… (*Life Aesthetics*; Zhi chang Pan; 1991-5-1)
55. 在奴隶社会里，奴隶没有家庭，……。 （《中国宏观社会学》；程继隆；1990-11-1） In slave society, slaves did not have families…… (*Chinese Macro Sociology*; Ji long Cheng; 1990-11-1)

56. 亲爱的朋友们，我有一个好**家庭**，我很珍惜它，并把它作为鞭策自己前进的力量。（《不骄傲，继续前进》；王桂芹；1958-5-1） Dear friends, I have a good family and I treasure it very much. I take it as the power to spur me on to advance. (*Don't be Proud, Advance Further*; Gui qin Wang; 1958-5-1)
57. ...., 女人有了**家**，生完了孩子，.....?（《柔道女裁判》；杨建华，王文涛；1986-1-6） .... Women have had families and given birth to children.....? (*The Woman Judo Referee*; Jian hua Yang, Wen tao Wang; 1986-1-6)
58. ....有一个幸福的小**家庭**，.....。（《同波兰宇航员在一起》；单樨；1987-5-22） .... (He) has a happy small family..... (*Together With Poland Astronauts*; Xi Shan; 1987-5-22)
59. 是呀，自从迷上了柔道，还有自己那个完整的**家**吗？（《柔道女裁判》；杨建华，王文涛；1986-1-6） Yes, after being addicted to Judo, did she still have her complete family? (*The Woman Judo Referee*; Jian hua Yang, Wen tao Wang; 1986-1-6)
60. 他离休没包袱，又有**个幸福家庭**。（《重返前线》；原郁；1986-11-1） He has retired without any burden, and has a happy family. (*Back to the Front*; Yu Yuan; 1986-11-1)
61. 澳大利亚人有氏族，但他们还没有‘普那路亚’**家庭**，.....。（《氏族的起源及其中期发展》；梁剑韬；1963-8-5） Austrians had clans, but they did not have Punaluan families..... (*The Origin and Mid-Term Development of Clanship*; Jian tao Liang; 1963-8-5)
62. ...., 在自己**家庭**经营不了的情况下，实行各种形式的合作，.....。（人民日报；1983-7-12） .... Different forms of cooperation are carried out under the circumstances of not being able to operate business by (their) own families. (*China People's Daily*; 1983-7-12)
63. 是他们时时提醒她的**家庭**所处的阶级地位。（《隐形伴侣》；张抗抗；1986-12-1） It is them who always remind her of her family's social class status. (*Invisible Partner*; Kang kang Zhang, 1986-12-1)
64. 你要是再倒一次，我们这个**家**怎么办？（《永远是春天》；谌容；1986-10-1） If you fall down again, what about our family? (*It's Spring For Ever*; Rong Chen; 1986-10-1)
65. 我们这个**家**再经不起大风大浪了！（《永远是春天》；谌容；1986-10-1） Our family cannot bear great storms anymore! (*It's Spring For Ever*; Rong Chen; 1986-10-1)
66. 你应该组织你自己的**家庭**了。（《初夏的重逢》；梁沪生；1987-12-5） You should organize your own family. (*Reunion in the Early Summer*; Hu sheng Liang; 1987-12-5)
67. ...., 我的**家**，生我养我的北京城在用力地抱着我.....！（《我的孩子，我的故乡》；海岩；1985-12-1） ....My family, the Beijing City who gave birth to me and raised me up was holding me tightly.....! (*My Child, My Hometown*; Yan Hai; 1985-12-1)
68. ...., 端着两盆维系着他的**家庭**命运的盆花.....。（《夜来香》；杨茂林；1981-5-8） .... (He) was holding two pots of flowers tied up with the fate of his family..... (*Evening Primrose*; Mao lin Yang; 1981-5-8)

69. 现在,猩红热的魔影又威胁着他的家。(《梦魇》;叶至善,叶三午,叶小沫;1980-8-5) Now, the evil phantom of the scarlet fever is threatening his family again. (*Nightmares*; Zhi shan Ye, San wu Ye, Xiao mo Ye; 1980-8-5)
70. …… ,共产党就是他的爹娘,革命队伍就是他的家。(《海盗》;胡正言;1982-5-1) …… The Communist Party is his parent, and the revolutionary forces are his family. (*Pirates*; Zheng yan Hu; 1982-5-1)
71. 她不愿想起自己的家。(《一个警察的 24 小时》;窦卫华;1993-2-1) She was not willing to think of her own family. (*The 24 Hours of a Policeman*; Wei hua Dou; 1993-2-1)
72. 素婷本人是很好的同志,可坏在她的反动家庭手里……玉冬的家庭是革命的,光荣的,…… (《染血的土地》;冯德英;1986-10-1) Su ting herself is a good comrade, but things turn bad in the hands of her reactionary family…… Yu dong's family is revolutionary and honorable …… (*The Bloodstained Soil*; De ying Feng; 1986-10-1)
73. …… ,对她的家庭,对她的胞姊,成仁是早就敬重倾慕的。(《染血的土地》;冯德英;1986-10-1) …… Chenren from early time respected and admired her family and her elder sister. (*The Bloodstained Soil*; De ying Feng; 1986-10-1)
74. …… ,一致认为他对于自己的家庭的认识太差太差,……。 (《恋爱的季节》;王蒙;1993-4-1) …… (They) all agreed that he had very, very bad knowledge about his own family. (*The Season for Love*; Meng Wang; 1993-4-1)
75. 破坏了自己的幸福家庭换来一堆债务、几张废纸和一个他不爱的妻子,……。 (《痴恋》;黄志远;1991-12-1) The destruction of his own happy family only traded for a pile of debts, several pages of wasted paper and a wife he did not love …… (*The Crazy Love*; Zhi yuan Huang; 1991-12-1)
76. …… ,赵正刚也同时离开了自己的家,……。 (《默契》;鲁彦周;1964-11-1) …… Zheng gang Zhao at the same time also left his own family…… (*Tacit Agreement*; Yan zhou Lu; 1964-11-1)
77. …… ,不管外边有什么风浪,都会使他们的家庭发生隔阂 ……。 (《红色的果实》;马加;1960-5-1) …… No matter what storm happened outside, it would bring estrangement to their family…… (*The Red Fruit*; Jia Ma; 1960-5-1)
78. “桂英,您成全了我的家!” (《白浪河上》;于良志;1959-6-1) “Gui-ying, you help my family achieve our aim!” (*On the White Wave River*; Liang zhi Yu; 1959-6-1)
79. …… ,你在村里领头清算我的家! (《槐树庄》;胡可;1963-10-1) …… You take the lead to expose and criticize my family! (*The Locust Tree Village*; Ke Hu; 1963-10-1)
80. “革命干部连自己的家都保不住!” (《槐树庄》;胡可;1963-10-1) “The revolutionary cadres cannot even protect their own families!” (*The Locust Tree Village*; Ke Hu; 1963-10-1)
81. 我乐于看看你的新家庭。(《倪焕之》;叶绍钧;1939-1-7) I am glad to see your new family.

(*Huan zhi Ni*; Shao jun Ye; 1939-1-7)

82. 我想先从自己的**家庭**着手, ..... (《浓烟》; 林参天; 1936-7-1) I want to start from my own family ..... (*The Heavy Smog*; Can tian Lin; 1936-7-1)
83. ...., 能帮助你们的**家庭**做点事就算好了, ..... (《浓烟》; 林参天; 1936-7-1) ..... It would be good of (he) would help your family to do something..... (*The Heavy Smog*; Can tian Lin; 1936-7-1)
84. ...., 跟她的**家庭**也渐渐地发生感情了。 (《浓烟》; 林参天; 1936-7-1) ..... (She) gradually develop affections with her family. (*The Heavy Smog*; Can tian Lin; 1936-7-1)
85. 他一提到他的**家**和父亲, 就陷入双重的苦恼之中。 (《过渡》; 丁易; 1947-1-1) Once he mentioned his family and father, he would be trapped into double worries. (*Transition*; Yi Ding; 1947-1-1)
86. 可是目前呢, 他的**家**还是存在着, ..... (《过渡》; 丁易; 1947-1-1) But at present time, his family still existed..... (*Transition*; Yi Ding; 1947-1-1)
87. “把我那个**家**整个毁灭掉, 我就可以无牵无挂了。” (《过渡》; 丁易; 1947-1-1) “Destroy my whole family, and I will be free of all cares.” (*Transition*; Yi Ding; 1947-1-1)
88. 她又兴致勃勃地讲起她的**家**、孩子..... (《库尔滨河畔》; 张爱华; 1984-10-1) She started to talk about her family and child in high spirits..... (*The Riverside of Kuerbin*; Ai hua Zhang; 1984-10-1)
89. ...., 丈夫对她谈心、女儿给她唱歌的录音带, 那是她**家庭**的浓缩。 (《“假如我很有钱.....”》; 马瑞芳; 1985-3-3) .....The tape of her husband's heart talks and her daughter's singing is the concentration of her family. (*If I Have a Lot of Money....*; Rui fang Ma; 1985-3-3)
90. 但我们的“**家**”, 仍然是分离的。 (《离合悲欢的三天》; 田野; 1984-7-1) But our family was still separate. (*Three Days of Sorrows, Joys, Partings and Meetings*; Ye Tian; 1984-7-1)
91. 感觉也移进了我们的小小的**家庭**, ..... (《我要逃避》; 唐弢; 1939-11-1) .....Feelings also moved into our small family..... (*I Want to Escape*; Tao Tang; 1939-11-1)
92. .... 方先生的膳食, 也是由各学生的**家庭**轮流分担的, ..... (《王茂荫宅内读书记》; 朱曼华; 1937-6-10) The cost of the teacher Fang's meals were also shared by students' families..... (*The Record of Studying in the House of Maoyin Wang*; Man hua Zhu; 1937-6-10)
93. 但不是每个学生的**家庭**都听话的, ..... (《王茂荫宅内读书记》; 朱曼华; 1937-6-10) But not every student's family was obedient..... (*The Record of Studying in the House of Maoyin Wang*; Man hua Zhu; 1937-6-10)
94. 学校成了他们的**家庭**, ..... (《渔村》; 许幸之; 1934-3-1) The school became their family ..... (*The Fishing Village*; Xing zhi Xu; 1934-3-1)
95. 他的**家庭**究竟是限制了还是助长了他的生活呢? (《黎明》; 方敬; 1936-10-1) His family indeed restricts or helps his life? (*The Dawn*; Jing Fang; 1936-10-1)

96. ...., 我的在乡下的**家**更盼切的等待着我。 (《县城风光》; 何其芳; 1936-12-1) ..... My family in the countryside is more eagerly waiting for my return. (*The County Scenery*; Qi fang He; 1936-12-1)
97. ...., 一面打桨, 一面还有心情对我们闲谈自己的**家庭**, ..... (《西湖船》; 丰子恺; 1987-2-1) ..... (They) were rowing the paddle while having a mood to talk leisurely about their own family with us..... (*The Boat on the West Lake*; Zi kai Feng; 1987-2-1)
98. 因着这小东西的到来, 我们那寂寞的小**家庭**, 以后将充满生气。 (《崇高的母性》; 黎烈文; 1987-2-1) Our lonely small family will be full of vitality in the future because of the arrival of the small baby. (*The Lofty Maternity*; Lie wen Li; 1987-2-1)
99. ...., 我的心似乎有些不信这里就是我自己的**家庭**。 (《还乡》; 王以仁; 1926-3-10) ..... My heart still seemed to doubt that here is my own family. (*Returning to the Hometown*; Yi ren Wang; 1926-3-10)
100. 你只要想像着我家中的灰尘堆积起来的情形, 便可以推出我**家庭**衰败的程度了! (《还乡》; 王以仁; 1926-3-10) You can predict out the degree of the decay of my family if you can only imagine the accumulation of the dust in my home. (*Returning to the Hometown*; Yi ren Wang; 1926-3-10)
101. 历来的伟大的社会和我的**家庭**对于我的陶冶使我在妇女们跟前永远保持着谨慎和远离的态度; ..... (《海的图画》; 罗黑芷; 1926-4-10) The always great society and my family cultivated me to keep forever a cautious and aloof attitude in front of women. (*The Picture of the Sea*; Hei zhi Luo; 1926-4-10)
102. ...., 也考虑到她的小**家庭**当时风雨飘摇的处境。 (《银海弄潮儿—刘晓庆》; 杨晓雄, 乃明; 1988-4-1) ..... (She) also considered the situation that her small family was swaying in the midst of a raging storm. (*The Tide Player of the Silver Screen—Xiao qing Liu*; Xiao xiong Yang, Ming Nai; 1988-4-1)
103. 这件事又成为她**家庭**中常常说笑的话题。 (《银海弄潮儿—刘晓庆》; 杨晓雄, 乃明; 1988-4-1) The matter then became a common topic for joking in her family. (*The Tide Player of the Silver Screen—Xiao qing Liu*; Xiao xiong Yang, Ming Nai; 1988-4-1)
104. 她这个“**家**”是个填不满的无底洞。 (《新风霞回忆录》; 新风霞; 1980-10-1) Her family is a bottomless hole that cannot be filled. (*The Memoirs of Fengxia Xin*; Feng xia Xin; 1980-10-1)
105. ...., 但像他们这样的**家庭**, 教育子女的办法一般都是自设私塾, ..... (《韬奋》; 穆欣; 1962-9-1) ..... The usual education method of families like theirs was to establish a home school with a private tutor..... (*Tao Fen*; Xin Mu; 1962-9-1)
106. 他的**家庭**在高利贷的盘剥和地主的压迫下, ..... (《中国现代作家小传》; 1961-1-1) His family was under the exploitation of usury and the oppression of the landlord..... (*A Brief Biography of the Contemporary Writers*; 1961-1-1)
107. 他的**家庭**并没有给他多少艺术的熏陶。 (《啊, 韩美林》; 胡思升; 1980-8-1) His family did not

- give him much nurturance of art. (Ah, Meilin Han; Si sheng Hu; 1980-8-1)
108. 并且, 他的家, 始终保持着一一种纯正和睦而又民主的家风。 (《重返前线》; 原郁; 1986-11-1)  
Moreover, his family always kept a pure, harmonious and democratic family style. (Back to the Front; Yu Yuan; 1986-11-1)
109. 有次, 胡班长路过黄陂, 特地去拜访了他的家庭, ..... (《车队在飞奔》; 1965-2-1) One time, Monitor Hu passed by the Huangbei, and particularly visited his family..... (The Convoy is Running at Full Speed; 1965-2-1)
110. 反正都是自己的家呗。 (《张士珍三故事》; 王连瑞; 1964-8-1) Anyway it is (my) own family. (Three Stories of Shizhen Zhang; Lian rui Wang; 1964-8-1)
111. “我们的地, 房子, 家庭, ”..... (《猫城记》; 老舍; 1932-1-1) “Our land, houses, families,” ..... (The City of Cat; She Lao; 1932-1-1)
112. 我们这个大家庭, 大大小小有好几千个蚂蚁。 (《蚂蚁的大家庭生活》; 罗西; 1956-1-1) Our big family has thousands of big and small ants. (The Big Family Life of Ants; Xi Luo; 1956-1-1)
113. 有的两颚很大, 叫做兵蚁, 专门保卫我们这个大家庭。 (《蚂蚁的大家庭生活》; 罗西; 1956-1-1) Some of the ants have two big jaws and are called soldier ants, whose major job is to protect our big family. (The Big Family Life of Ants; Xi Luo; 1956-1-1)
114. .... 她要是走出门去, 我们这个大家庭就要散伙了! (《怪孩子的梦》; 李绪萱; 1982-11-1) .... If she walks out of the door, our big family will split up! (The Strange Child's Dream; Xu xuan Li; 1982-11-1)
115. 自从她们几个人承包了理发馆, 我们这个家可全乱了套了。 (《男人和女人》; 丁广泉; 1989-1-15) After they contracted to run the barbershop, our family was in chaos. (Man and Woman; Guang quan Ding; 1989-1-15)
116. 你呀, 就想到自己那个家, 就没有想到社会主义大家庭。 (《街道食堂》; 张西莲, 田陇; 1958-11-1) You only think about your own family, but you do not think of the socialist big family. (The Dining Hall in the Street; Xi lian Zhang, Long Tian; 1958-11-1)
117. ...., 同时了解他的家庭、性格、朋友, 等等。 (《现代谈话艺术》; 孙恭恒; 1992-8-1) .... At the same time, get to know his family, personality, and friends and so on. (The Modern Art of Talks; Gong heng Sun; 1992-8-1)
118. ...., 包括他的家庭和子女, ..... (《教育经济学概论》; 王善迈; 1989-2-1) ....including his family and children..... (An Introduction of Educational Economics; Shan mai Wang; 1989-2-1)
119. 因为我的家庭是在高利贷压迫之下由中农变为贫农的, ..... (《文学概论》; 李衍柱; 1983-9-1) My family became poor peasant from middle peasant under the oppression of usury..... (An Introduction of Literature; Yan zhu Li; 1983-9-1)

120. 他们的**家庭**本有封地，……。 (《西藏社会性质的分析》；束世; 1959-6-10) Their families originally had fief..... (The Analysis on the Nature of Tibetan Society; Shi Shu; 1959-6-10)
121. 她说，她的**家庭**和她所学的社会学是一致的……。 (《向城市供应新鲜蔬菜》；于民生, 顾文福; 1981-10-23) She said her family and the sociology she learnt were consistent..... (Provide Fresh Vegetables to the Cities; Min sheng Yu, Wen fu Gu; 1981-10-23)
122. 就这样解放了他的**家**，……。 (《谢雨辰谈台湾电影“金马奖”》；王冰; 1984-10-1) His family was liberated like this... (Yuchen Xie's Talks about The Golden Horse Award in Taiwan; Bing Wang; 1984-10-1)
123. .... 你的**家**马上就可以解放么，.....? (《谢雨辰谈台湾电影“金马奖”》；王冰; 1984-10-1) .... Your family will be liberated soon.....? (Yuchen Xie's Talks about The Golden Horse Award in Taiwan; Bing Wang; 1984-10-1)
124. 我和晋学贤谈起了她的**家庭**情况，她的**家庭**是幸福的。 (《丰富的第一年》；柳溪; 1954-7-16) Xuexian Jin and I started to talk about her family. Her family was happy. (The Affluent First Year; Xi Liu; 1954-7-16)
125. 你的**家庭**是怎么教育你的，.....? (《自白》；龙应台; 1989-2-6) How did your family educate you.....? (Confession; Ying tai Long; 1989-2-6)
126. 一九五四年春天建社的时候，三个人就积极动员自己的**家庭**入社。 (《“三兰”》；林元; 1956-1-1) When the cooperative was built up in the spring of 1954, the three persons had already actively mobilized their families to join it. ("San Lan"; Yuan Lin; 1956-1-1)
127. ...., 鼓励他们象对待自己的**家庭**那样效力公司。 (《股票大王冯景禧》；亦来云; 1989-6-1) .... Encourage them to serve the company the same way as they treat their families. (The Stock King; Jingxi Feng; Lai yun Yi; 1989-6-1)
128. ...., 这渴望变成了他的**家庭**的温馨和安宁。 (《闲说张一弓》；齐岸青; 1987-4-10) .... The desire became the warmth and peace of his family. (Leisure Talks about Yigong Zhang; An qing Qi; 1987-4-10)
129. “但是你的**家庭**也要开支。” (《我的伯父陈嘉庚》；陈共存; 1985-8-10) “But your family also needs to pay expenses.” (My Uncle Jiageng Chen; Gong cun Chen; 1985-8-10)
130. 他知道我是林丽的邻居，又是同事、好友，就托我好好照料她的**家**。 (《失踪之谜》；叶永烈; 1981-12-1) He knew I was the neighbor of Li Lin, and also her colleague and friend. So he trusted me to look after her family. (The Mysterious Disappearance; Yong lie Ye; 1981-12-1)
131. 他坐在这把藤椅上，曾和张秀花一起谈过理想，也憧憬过他们未来的幸福**家庭**。 (《一朝恩爱千古恋》；张飙; 1983-9-1) He sat on this rattan chair and once talked about ideals with Xiuhua Zhang. He also longed for their future happy family. (Once In Love, Love Forever; Biao Zhang; 1983-9-1)
132. 他说他才到我家来，我家正是旺时，.....。 (《老哥哥》；臧克家; 1987-2-1) He said when he just arrived



- to my family, my family was at the time of flourishing..... (Elder Brother; Ke jia Zang; 1987-2-1)
133. .... 凡是朋友光临到我们这个不像样的**家庭**里来，妻总是不问亲疏，.....。 (《胡子》；索非；1939-9-1) ..... Any friend who came into our unrepresentable family to visit us, my wife was always in hospitality..... (Mustache; Fei Suo; 1939-9-1)
134. 在我们这个几乎人人勤劳的**家庭**里，不干活已经不能得到原谅，可他，我们的懒惰父亲，还要摆出一副长者的大架子，.....，成天指手画脚，好像只有他最忙碌、最操心、最关心我们这个**家庭**，.....。 (《怪孩子的梦》；李绪萱；1982-11-1) In our family, almost everybody was laborious, and it was not forgiven if anyone did not work. But he, our lazy father, still put on airs as a superior..... and always interfering as if there were only him who was the busiest, who bothered and cared most about our family..... (The Strange Child's Dream; Xu xuan Li; 1982-11-1)
135. 其实，她对于**家**的概念正在扩大，把整个社会主义都当作自己的**家**了。 (《她有多少孩子》；理由；1979-7-1) In fact, her conception of family is enlarging, and she takes the whole socialism as her own family. (How Many Children Does She Have; You Li; 1979-7-1)
136. 这是你的**家**，你的亲人，.....! (《觉醒》；李才雍，郭子力；1981-3-1) This is your family, your relatives.....! (Awakening; Cai yong Li, Zi li Guo; 1981-3-1)
137. ...., 为家长所管领的家产为其**家庭**共有，.....。 (《罗马法》；1983-2-1) ..... The family property under the management of the family leader is possessed by his family..... (The Rome Law; 1983-2-1)
138. 一类是生存需要，即维持劳动者及其**家庭**的基本生活资料。 (《简明社会学》；吴铎；1986-8-1) One type of human needs is the need of survival, in other words, the need of maintaining the basic life materials for the laborers and their families. (Simple Sociology; Duo Wu; 1986-8-1)
139. .... 并安置其**家庭**和基业。 (《关于开征所得税的几点商榷》；蔡鼎；1936-9-7) ..... Moreover (their) families and estate should be settled down. (About Several issues of Levying Income Taxes; Ding Cai; 1936-9-7)
140. 谢益先及其**一家**，就是无数的受苦人和受苦**家庭**的一分子。 (《一袋干粮的风格》；顾建国；1975-8-18) Yixian Xie and his whole family are one of the members of numerous people and families who were suffering hardships. (The Manner of One Bag of Solid Food; Jian guo Gu; 1975-8-18)
141. .... 一个贫苦农民的**家庭**，.....! (《沿着劳动青年革命化知识化的道路前进》；1996-2-1) ..... a poor farmer's family.....! (Advance on the Road of Revolutionized and Educated Labor Youth; 1996-2-1)
142. ...., 从城市工业中转出的二手设备乃至报废淘汰的机器，延长了它们的使用寿命，被广泛应用于农民的**家庭**之中。 (《中国乡镇企业的经济发展与经济体制》；1987-5-1) ..... The second-handed equipment and obsolete machines from city industry got their life prolonged and widely used in farmers' families. (The Economic Development of Chinese Township Enterprises and Economic System; 1987-5-1)
143. 心里又像是回味着父亲的**家庭**所给他的愉快一样。 (《幼年》；骆宾基；1982-3-1) In his heart, it was like recalling the pleasure given by his father's family. (Childhood; Bin ji Luo; 1982-3-1)

144. 正是因为这个，何士捷才怀念着父亲的**家庭**。 (《春天到了鸭绿江》；雷加；1954-9-1) It is because of this Shijie He cherishes the memory of father's family. (*The Spring Arrives the Yalu River*; Jia Lei; 1954-9-1)
145. 父亲的**家**，父亲不会了解她。 (《无声的歌女》；凤子；1946-5-1) Father's family and father would not understand her. (*The Silent Singing Girl*; Zi Feng; 1946-5-1)
146. 革命干部的**家庭**要不要照顾？ (《槐树庄》；胡可；1963-10-1) Do the families of revolutionary cadres need to be taken care of? (*The Locust Tree Village*; Ke Hu; 1963-10-1)
147. 照顾干部的**家庭**，这是党一贯的政策！ (《槐树庄》；胡可；1963-10-1) To take care of the families of revolutionary cadres is always the policy of the communist party! (*The Locust Tree Village*; Ke Hu; 1963-10-1)
148. ...., 不伤害双方的**家庭**, .....? (《立体交叉战争》；星城；1988-4-1) ..... (It) won't hurt the families of both sides.....? (*Fly-Over Junction War*; Cheng Xing; 1988-4-1)
149. ...., 把人家的**家庭**，都闹的不和了！ (《白浪河上》；于良志；1959-6-1) ..... (It) stirred up trouble and put other people's families in rivalry. (*On the White Wave River*; Liang zhi Yu; 1959-6-1)
150. 也许是因为国都迁走，多数人的**家庭**都受了绝大的影响的原故;.....。 (《浮沉》；王余杞；1933-3-20) It was probably because the capital of the country was moved away, and most people's families were greatly affected by it; ..... (*Drifting and Sinking*; Yu qi Wang; 1933-3-20)
- 151....., 但是，这里活着一个穷人的**家庭**.....? (《处女地》；马宁；1930-4-15) ..... But here lived a poor people's family .....? (*The Virgin Land*; Ning Ma; 1930-4-15)
152. 这是在生活底层的一个工人的**家庭**，.....。 (《为了和平》；柯灵；1956-7-1) This is a worker's family that is at the bottom of life..... (*For Peace*; Ling Ke; 1956-7-1)
- 153....., 这个小本本，使我重新记起了许多人的**家庭**.....。 (《山中日记》；刘真；1956-11-1) ..... This small notebook made me remember many people's families ..... (*Diary in the Mountain*; Zhen Liu; 1956-11-1)
- 154....., 122 名消防官兵的亲人和**家庭**也承受着火的灾难带来的冲击。 (《火的洗礼》；陈万章，尹利民，陈连生，赵月增；1987-9-22) ..... 122 firefighters' relatives and their families were also enduring the impact of the disaster brought by the fire. (*The Baptizing of the Fire*; Wan zhang Chen, Li min Yin, Lian sheng Chen, Yue zeng Zhao; 1987-9-22)
155. ...., 一位教育活动家的**家庭**。 (《简明科学社会主义史》；肖励锋，冯秉智，甘棠寿；1985-12-1) ..... an educational activist's family. (*Brief History of Scientific Socialism*; Li feng Xiao, Bing zhi Feng, Tang shou Gan; 1985-12-1)

156. 目前我国中年职工的家庭大都是双职工家庭, .....。 (《应用管理心理学》; 邓晓春; 1987-3-1) At present the middle aged employees' families in our country are mostly working couple families..... (Applied Management Psychology; Xiao chun Deng; 1987-3-1)
157. ...., 一些双职工家庭, 特别是夫妻双方都是知识分子的家庭中, 家务确实是一个不小的拖累, 往往会同事业发生矛盾。 (《“二保一”果真是一剂良药吗?》; 姚国础; 1985-10-15) ..... In some families of working couples, especially both of them are intellectuals, housework is indeed a big burden, and usually arises contradictions with their careers. (Is It Really A Good Remedy to “Guarantee One From Two”?; Guo chu Yao; 1985-10-15)
158. 班主任为了做好教育工作, 必须和学生的家庭取得密切联系, .....。 (《教育概论》; 徐国綦; 1986-11-1) Teacher in charge of a class must contact closely with students' families in order to educate well..... (An Introduction of Education; Guo qi Xu; 1986-11-1)
159. 还有一些例子是调查分析少年犯的家庭, .....。 (《教育社会学概论》; 裴时英; 1990-5-1) There are some examples about the analysis and investigation of those families of juvenile delinquents..... (An Introduction of Educational Sociology; Shi ying Pei; 1990-5-1)
160. ...., 妨碍了他人婚姻家庭, .....。 (××市人民法院刑事附带民事判决书; 1980-12-15) ..... hinder other people's marriage and family..... (The Judgment Report of the People's Court of XX City; 1980-12-15)
161. 石匠的家庭, 生活之拮据是可想而知的, .....。 (《石匠的儿子民族的号手》; 戴鹏海; 1987-3-1) It was easy to guess how short of money a stonecutter's family would be..... (Son of A Stonecutter, Trumpeter of the Nation; Peng hai Dai; 1987-3-1)
162. 王惠兰的家是个贫农..... (《“三兰”》; 林元; 1956-1-1) Hui-lan Wang's family was poor peasant..... (“San Lan”; Yuan Lin; 1956-1-1)
163. 肖像的最初的轮廓, 是在浙江金华畈田蒋村的一个地主家庭里留下的..... (《少年艾青》; 徐刚; 1983-4-10) The outline of the portrait was kept in a landlord's family in the Fantianjiang village of Jinhua, Zhejiang Province. (Young Aiqing; Gang Xu; 1983-4-10)
164. 我们还要注意与青年的家庭取得联系, .....。 (《在农村中应如何关心青年「长身体」》; 1954-2-16) We have to pay attention to have close relations with young people's families..... (How to Care about Young People's Body Growth in the countryside; 1954-2-16)
165. “....., 他心里还有这个家。” (《柳庄的“总拿”》; 路扬; 1982-8-1) “..... His heart still has this family.” (The ‘Taker’ of the Liu Manor; Yang Lu; 1982-8-1)
166. 1895 年 5 月出身于一个小庄园主的家庭里, .....。 (《世界现代史》; 1986-5-1) (He) was born into a family of the lord of a small manor in May, 1895..... (Modern World History; 1986-5-1)
167. 这种优良的风气在劳动人民的家庭中, 表现得特别突出。 (《尊敬和赡养父母是我国人民优良的传统》; 朱伯昆; 1956-12-16) This good custom is shown especially prominent in the families of the working people. (Respect and Support Parents are the Good Moral Traditions of Our People; Bo kun Zhu; 1956-12-16)

- 168....., 军分区、人武部, 应当帮军人**家庭**之所需, .....。 (人民日报; 1991-9-4) ..... Military subareas and Peoples armed force should help what a soldier's family really needs. .... (China People's Daily; 1991-9-4)
169. 从 1984 年开始, 军分区党委就把帮助军人**家庭**解决生产生活上的困难纳入民兵、预备役工作的整体规划中。 (人民日报; 1991-9-4) From 1984, the party committee of the military subarea had already put the issue of helping soldiers' families to solve difficulties in production and life into the whole working plan of the militiamen and reserve forces. (China People's Daily; 1991-9-4)
170. 1987 年初, 怀化地委、行署、军分区联合颁发了《关于帮助军人**家庭**解决生产生活困难, 做好拥军优属工作》的文件, 重申和提出了优待军人**家庭**的十项政策规定。 (人民日报; 1991-9-4) At the beginning of 1987, the prefectural Huaihua, Administrative Office of the recognition and the military subarea together issued the document of "Help solders' families to solve difficulties in life and production, and support the army and give preferential treatment to the families of the army man and martyrs", and reaffirmed and proposed ten policies of preferential treatment for solders' families. (China People's Daily; 1991-9-4)
- 171....., 搞活了农村经济, 使国家、集体和农民**家庭**都获得了较大的利益。 (《当代大众哲学》; 雷英魁、陈扬炯; 1988-6-1) ..... The rural economy is invigorated, which made the country, the community and the farmers' families all gained comparatively big benefits. (The Contemporary Popular Philosophy; Ying kui Lei, Yang jiong Chen; 1988-6-1)
172. 罗伯斯比尔出生于法国北部阿尔土瓦省阿拉斯城的一个律师**家庭**里。 (《西方法律思想史》; 张宏生, 谷春德; 1990-3-1) Roberts Bill was born into a lawyer's family in the town of Arras in the northern France. (History of Western Legal Thoughts; Hong sheng Zhang, Chun de Gu; 1990-3-1)
173. 大约于公元前 340 年出生在湖北秭归县的一个贵族**家庭**里。 (《汨罗江畔屈子祠》; 钟德灿; 1981-8-20) (He) was born into a noble family in Zigui County, Hubei province in about 340 B.C. (The Memorial Temple of Qu at the Bank of Miluo River; De can Zhong; 1981-8-20)
174. 官僚都是由贵族**家庭**选出的, 西藏地方政府最高官四个噶伦, 是从十七**家**大贵族中选出的, 其余出于较小的贵族之**家**。 (《西藏社会性质的分析》; 束世; 1959-6-10) Bureaucrats were all chosen by noble families. The four Galoins who were the highest officials in the local Tibet government were chosen out of 17 big noble families, while the other bureaucrats were chosen out of smaller noble families. (Analysis about the Nature of Tibetan Society; Shi Shu; 1959-6-10)

#### Appendix 4: The linguistic examples of FAMILY IS A CONTAINER metaphor in the Modern Chinese Corpus

1. 书记和经理还带领服务员深入到残疾人的**家庭**，打扫房间、清洗被单，……。 (人民日报; 1992-5-3) The secretary and manager also took attendants deep into the disabled people's families to clean up the rooms and wash the bed sheets..... (*China People's Daily*; 1992-5-3)
2. 80%的村民盖起了楼房，彩电、摩托车基本普及到**家家户户**，连汽车、录相机，也开始进入农户**家庭**。(人民日报; 1991-9-4) 80% of the villagers had built up storied houses, and color TV and motorbikes had become popular for every family. Even cars and video recorders also started to enter into the farmers' families. (*China People's Daily*; 1991-9-4)
3. “青年信息传递卡”上设立出勤情况、思想动态、学习工作情况、在**家庭**中的表现以及本月收入和费用支出情况等栏目。(中国青年报; 1991-2-16) “The Youth Information Exchange Card” set up columns of attendance, ideological trend, situation of study and work, the performance in family, monthly income and expenses. (*China Youth Daily*; 1991-2-16)
4. 我们发现，一个**家庭**中若父母少言寡语且与外界交往甚少，孩子便常常口讷，……。 (中国青年报; 1989-8-15) We discovered that in a family, if parents were not talkative and had little socialization with the outside world, the child was usually inarticulate..... (*China Youth Daily*; 1989-8-15)
5. .... 组织七百多名商业职工，深入到**每家每户**，上门收购，就地装箱，……。 (文汇报; 1981-4-6) .... (They) organized more than seven hundred business employees, and went deep into every family to purchase and package right away..... (*Wenhui Daily*; 1981-4-6)
6. 小孩为了取得父母的宠爱和在**家庭**中的地位，兄弟姐妹之间出现强烈的竞争，不能友好相处。(解放军报; 1991-6-22) In order to get favor from the parents and status in a family, siblings complete fiercely among themselves and cannot get along well with each other. (*People's Liberation Army Daily*; 1991-6-22)
7. .... 控制电热、电炊和空调器过早地进入**家庭**。(解放军报; 1987-3-1) .... Control the electric heating, electric cooking and air-conditioners not to enter into families too early. (*People's Liberation Army Daily*; 1991-6-22)
8. 一种适于**家庭**中病人救生用的便携式产氧器——瞬得益,近日投放首都市场。(北京日报; 1991-7-16) A kind of portable oxygen generator called Shundeyi had been put into the capital market recently, which was suitable for the emergency use of the patient in a family. (*Beijing Daily*; 1991-7-16)
9. 正如在一个和睦的**家庭**里，即使有谁多吃两个面包或多穿两件衣服，也不会有人认为权利不平等一样。(《新时期意识形态问题》; 顾肇基; 1990-12-1) Just as in a harmonious family, even somebody had eaten two more pieces of bread or worn two more pieces of clothes, there would not be anybody see it as being not equal in rights. (*The Ideological Issues in the New Times*; Zhao ji Gu; 1990-12-1)
10. 他们责备彼得不应进入未受割礼之人的**家庭**，而且不应和这些人一同吃饭。(《中华民族眼里的基督》; 徐松石; 1948-7-1) They blamed Peter that he should not enter into the families of those people

who did not receive circumcision, and he should not eat together with them. (*Jesus in the Eyes of Chinese People*; Song shi Xu; 1948-7-1)

11. ...., 用法律的形式巩固了妇女和男子在**家庭**中的平等地位。 (《我国公民的基本权利和义务》; 李光灿; 1955-6-1) ..... (It) consolidates the equal status of both men and women in a family through the law. (*The Basic Rights and Duties of Our Citizens*; Guang can Li; 1955-6-1)
12. 妇女在**家庭**中的地位已有显著提高, 我国人民的家庭生活也正在逐步改善。 (《我国公民的基本权利和义务》; 李光灿; 1955-6-1) The status of women in a family had been raised up remarkably, and the family life of our people was improving step by step. (*The Basic Rights and Duties of Our Citizens*; Guang can Li; 1955-6-1)
13. **家庭**里购置农具、添置衣服都是大家互相商量。 (《我国公民的基本权利和义务》; 李光灿; 1955-6-1) The purchase of farming tools and clothes was done through the discussion within the family. (*The Basic Rights and Duties of Our Citizens*; Guang can Li; 1955-6-1)
14. 妇女同男子在**家庭**中地位平等, 在全国大部分地区业已或正在逐步实现。 (《我国公民的基本权利和义务》; 李光灿; 1955-6-1) The equal status of both men and women in a family had been realized or being realized step by step in most part of the country. (*The Basic Rights and Duties of Our Citizens*; Guang can Li; 1955-6-1)
15. 从目前的情况来说, 儿童和青年还是在**家庭**中生活的时间多些, ..... (《婚姻法讲话》; 周家清; 1964-4-1) From the present situation, children and young people still live longer time in families. (*Talks about Marriage Law*; Jia qing Zhou; 1964-4-1)
16. 这同我国的传统, 同我国把赡养主要放在**家庭**范围内解决的代际供养模式是分不开的。 (《社会学基础》; 叶丽, 李星万; 1987-1-1) It is inseparable from the tradition of our country and our way of taking care of the old people within the scope of a family. (*Basic Sociology*; Li Ye, Xing wan Li; 1987-1-1)
17. 在扩大的**家庭**里, 婆媳有共同的利益, 如希望**家庭**发达, 望下一代成龙, 等等。 (《社会学基础》; 叶丽, 李星万; 1987-1-1) In an extended family, the mother-in-law and the wife share the common benefits, such as the wish for the flourishing of the family, the good future of the children and so on. (*Basic Sociology*; Li Ye, Xing wan Li; 1987-1-1)
18. 所以, 婆媳关系在有婆媳的**家庭**里, 对家庭人际关系的建设往往具有举足轻重的意义。 (《社会学基础》; 叶丽, 李星万; 1987-1-1) Therefore, in a family with the wife and the mother-in-law, their relationship is crucial in constructing the family's interpersonal relations. (*Basic Sociology*; Li Ye, Xing wan Li; 1987-1-1)
19. 在封建**家庭**里, 儿女的婚姻大事完全由父母包办, ..... (《青年社会学》; 费穗宇, 穆宪; 1987-7-1) In a feudal family, the children's marriages were arranged fully by their parents..... (*Sociology for Youth*; Sui yu Fei, Xian Mu; 1987-7-1)
20. 在封建**家庭**中, 男子具有绝对的权力, ..... (《青年社会学》; 费穗宇, 穆宪; 1987-7-1) In feudal families, men had absolute power..... (*Sociology for Youth*; Sui yu Fei, Xian Mu; 1987-7-1)

21. 在封建**家庭**中，由于结婚多为女嫁男娶，因而在婆媳关系中，婆婆处于主导地位，媳妇没有自主权。  
(《青年社会学》；费穗宇，穆宪；1987-7-1) In feudal families, women were married off to men;  
therefore, in the relation between the son's wife and the mother-in-law, the mother-in-law usually took a  
dominant position while the son's wife did not have right to manage her own affairs. (*Sociology for  
Youth*; Sui yu Fei, Xian Mu; 1987-7-1)
  
22. 而夫妻关系在不同的历史时期，不同的民族及不同类型的**家庭**中，也是有很大差异的。(《社会学》；  
刘献君，谢圣明；1987-9-1) The relation between husband and wife was greatly different in various  
historical times, nationalities and different types of families. (*Sociology*; Xian jun Liu, Sheng ming Xie;  
1987-9-1)
  
23. 科学深入社会，深入**家庭**，现代**家庭**既已接受现代科学的思想，就一时一刻也不能离开它了。(《家  
庭关系学》；史仲文，何长华；1989-9-1) Science went deep into the society and families. Since  
modern families had accepted the modern scientific thinking, they could not leave it for a single moment.  
(*Studies on Family Relations*; Zhong wen Shi, Chang hua He; 1989-9-1)
  
24. ...., 把教师当成“**家庭**里不同年龄儿童的长兄”等。(《中国教育方针的研究》；王铁；  
1982-1-1) ..... A teacher is regarded as the “elder brother of children at various ages in a family”.  
(*Research of Chinese Educational Policy*; Tie Wang; 1982-1-1)
  
25. 因为学生长期生活在**家庭**中，社会环境，社会风尚，.....，对学生都有着深刻的影响。(《教育学》；  
刘寿祺；1980-7-1) Since students live long time in families, the social environment and prevailing  
custom ..... influenced deeply on them. (*Education*; Shou qi Liu; 1980-7-1)
  
26. 首先是随着时代的不断发展，电视越来越在更多的**家庭**中得到普及，.....。(《人与社会的探寻》；  
罗国安，赵金昭；1988-5-1) Firstly, with the development of the times, television becomes more and  
more popular in more families..... (*The Exploration of Human and the Society*; Guo an Luo, Jin zhao  
Zhao; 1988-5-1)
  
27. 在我国，大学的社会地位是令人瞩目的，于是，一个**家庭**里考出了大学生，这就可能引起这个**家庭**  
地位的提高，透过**家庭**的宠儿，可以看到**家庭**中，作为大学生的父母其许多心理的明显变化。(《人  
与社会的探寻》；罗国安，赵金昭；1988-5-1) In our country, the social status of a university was  
eye-catching. Therefore, if a student passed the exam and became a college student in a family, the status of  
that family would rise. Through a family's favorite, people could see many obvious mental changes of the  
parents in the family. (*The Exploration of Human and the Society*; Guo an Luo, Jin zhao Zhao; 1988-5-1)
  
28. 这个地位包含着在社会上的、在**家庭**里的、在父母自己心目中的。(《人与社会的探寻》；罗国安，  
赵金昭；1988-5-1) This status includes the ones on the society, within the family and in the minds of the  
parents. (*The Exploration of Human and the Society*; Guo an Luo, Jin zhao Zhao; 1988-5-1)
  
29. .... 学校与**家庭**的距离并没有隔断**家庭**与宠儿的联系，反而使宠儿更为**家庭**中父母所牵肠挂肚。  
(《人与社会的探寻》；罗国安，赵金昭；1988-5-1) ..... The distance between the school and the family  
did not stop the connection between the family and the favorite child, but made the child even more  
concerned by the parents in the family. (*The Exploration of Human and the Society*; Guo an Luo, Jin  
zhao Zhao; 1988-5-1)

30. 陈鹤琴先生主张在**家庭**里做父母的应当给小孩子预备看的书，玩的玩具……。（《实用主义教育学批判》；陈元晖；1956-10-1）Mr. Heqin Chen claimed that in a family, the parents should prepare the children their books, toys……（*Criticism of Pragmatic Education*; Yuan hui Chen; 1956-10-1）
31. 在**家庭**中给儿童准备一些儿童的用具，让小孩进行许多搜集物品的工作，并不是没有教育意义。（《实用主义教育学批判》；陈元晖；1956-10-1）In a family, to prepare some children tools and let children start collection work are not meaningless in education.（*Criticism of Pragmatic Education*; Yuan hui Chen; 1956-10-1）
32. 妇女最大的责任是在**家庭**中……。（《西洋教育史》；林汉达；1947-10-1）The biggest responsibility of women is in the families……（*The History of Western Education*; Han da Lin; 1947-10-1）
33. 法西斯的妇女的教育，应为『准备妇女使之为新时代贤德的未来母亲，使之成为**家庭**中完美的主妇，……这样，不但**家庭**藉着她的更生的能力（regenerative powers）而得进步，即国家亦因而强盛』。（《西洋教育史》；林汉达；1947-10-1）Fascist women education should be preparing women to be the future virtuous mothers for the new times, and to make them the perfect housewives in families……In this way, not only families will progress relying on her regenerative powers, but also the country will proper because of it too.（*The History of Western Education*; Han da Lin; 1947-10-1）
34. 这样，学校变成了发电机，学生变成了四十根电线，通到每一个**家庭**里去，使四十**家**，乃至二百四十**家**都发出民主的光辉来，这不能算是小学教师的重要任务吗？（《陶行知教育论文选集》；陶行知；1949-7-1）In this way, the school became a dynamotor, and students became 40 electric wires, which ran into every family to make 40 or even 240 families glowing with democracy. Wasn't it an important task for elementary teachers?（*Selected Education Papers of Xingzhi Tao*; Xing zhi Tao; 1949-7-1）
35. 因此**家庭**中的精神和道德都是与儿童有密切的关系。（《训育论》；李相；1935-8-1）Therefore, the spirit and morality in a family have close relations with children.（*Discipline*; Xiang Li; 1935-8-1）
36. 这由于**家庭**中结合的各份子有血统的关系，……。（《训育论》；李相；1935-8-1）It is because in a family, all the combined members have blood ties……（*Discipline*; Xiang Li; 1935-8-1）
37. 在良好的**家庭**里，可以授与或养成儿童下列的种种基本常识和习惯：……。（《训育论》；李相；1935-8-1）In a good family, children will receive or get cultivated with the following basic common senses and habits:……（*Discipline*; Xiang Li; 1935-8-1）
38. 但是在不良的**家庭**之内，不特不能得着以上种种的利益，在无形中反受它的影响，……。（《训育论》；李相；1935-8-1）But in a bad family, children cannot receive the above benefits; instead, they will be influenced by the family……（*Discipline*; Xiang Li; 1935-8-1）
39. **家庭**中有无艺术氛围等，……。（《文艺规律与文艺领导》；左人，苏川；1992-6-1）Whether there is artistic atmosphere in the family……（*The Law of Literature and Art and the Leadership*; Ren Zuo, Chuan Su; 1992-6-1）
40. 每百户居民**家庭**中平均拥有照相机 28 架，……。（《文艺规律与文艺领导》；左人，苏川；1992-6-1）On average in every 100 resident families there were 28 cameras……（*The Law of Literature and Art and the Leadership*; Ren Zuo, Chuan Su; 1992-6-1）



41. 羊的小腿骨、下巴颏、脖子肉等在**家庭**里是晚辈和小孩吃的肉,……。 (《中国奇风异俗》; 徐杰舜, 徐桂兰; 1987-7-1) The sheep's leg bones, chins and the neck meat were for younger generations and children to eat in the family..... (*Chinese Strange Customs*; Jie shun Xu, Gui lan Xu; 1987-7-1)
  
42. 在这种**家庭**中, 一般是先娶来的操持家务, 后来者管理农田。 (《中国奇风异俗》; 徐杰舜, 徐桂兰; 1987-7-1) In this kind of family, usually the first married wife manages the housework while the latter ones manage the farm fields. (*Chinese Strange Customs*; Jie shun Xu, Gui lan Xu; 1987-7-1)
  
43. 在**家庭**中的地位是未嫁从父, 既嫁从夫, 夫死从子。 (《现代民俗流变》; 仲富兰; 1990-9-1) The status in the family is to follow the father before marriage, follow the husband after marriage, and follow the son if the husband is dead. (*Rheology of Modern Folk Customs*; Fu lan zhong; 1990-9-1)
  
44. 手工业者“师父”与“徒弟”之间, 犹如**家庭**中的父子; ..... (《工业经济学》; 祝慈寿; 1950-12-1) The relation between a handcraft master and his apprentice is like that of father and son in a family..... (*Industrial Economics*; Ci shou Zhu; 1950-12-1)
  
45. 从**家庭**内产业的结构来看, 劳动力 70% 以上用于专业生产。 (《社会主义商品经济下的合作制与家庭经济》; 杨承训; 1988-2-1) From the industrial structure within a family, 70% of the labor is used for professional production. (*Cooperation and Family Economy under the Socialist Commodity Economy*; Cheng xun Yang; 1988-2-1)
  
46. 据国家统计局材料, 7269 个专业户从事专业生产的劳动力占**家庭**内全部劳动力的 79.2%, 其中从事第二产业的专业户中从事专业生产的劳动力占**家庭**内总劳动力的 85.8%。 (《社会主义商品经济下的合作制与家庭经济》; 杨承训; 1988-2-1) According to the materials from the State Statistical Bureau, 79.2% of the whole labor in 7269 families running the specialized agricultural business was involved in professional production; 85.8% of the whole labor in specialized households dealing with the second industry was involved in professional production. (*Cooperation and Family Economy under the Socialist Commodity Economy*; Cheng xun Yang; 1988-2-1)
  
47. .... 但是**家庭**内部的经济结构已经发生变化, ..... (《社会主义商品经济下的合作制与家庭经济》; 杨承训; 1988-2-1) .... But the economic structure inside the family had already changed..... (*Cooperation and Family Economy under the Socialist Commodity Economy*; Cheng xun Yang; 1988-2-1)
  
48. ...., 从城市工业中转出的二手设备乃至报废淘汰的机器, 延长了它们的使用寿命, 被广泛应用于农民的**家庭**之中。 (《中国乡镇企业的经济发展与经济体制》; 1987-5-1) .... The second-handed equipment and obsolete machines from city industry got their life prolonged and widely used in farmers' families. (*The Economic Development of Chinese Township Enterprises and Economic System*; 1987-5-1)
  
49. 在**家庭**内部则是按性别、年龄有种简单的分工, ..... (《社会主义商品经济下的合作制与家庭经济》; 杨承训; 1988-2-1) Inside a family, work was distributed simply according to gender and age..... (*Cooperation and Family Economy under the Socialist Commodity Economy*; Cheng xun Yang; 1988-2-1)
  
50. 这就说明**家庭**内部的协作有着很大的潜力, ..... (《社会主义商品经济下的合作制与家庭经济》; 杨承训; 1988-2-1) It had shown that the cooperation inside a family had great potentials..... (*Cooperation and Family Economy under the Socialist Commodity Economy*; Cheng xun Yang; 1988-2-1)

51. 所以,我认为他在这个**家庭**中要想与封建思想作斗争,就必须有自己独特的斗争方式,……。(《让热闹“热闹”起来》; 梁冠华; 1987-4-1) Therefore, I think if he wants to fight against feudal thoughts in this family, he must have his own way of fighting…… (*Let jollification Become Alive*; Guan hua Liang; 1987-4-1)
52. ……知道原来**家里**是为他定亲,尽管他不愿意,但在这个封建**家庭**中又不好顶撞奶奶和父母,……。(《让热闹“热闹”起来》; 梁冠华; 1987-4-1) …… He knew the family arranged an engagement for him. Even though he was not willing to have it, he could not contradict his grandma and parents in this feudal family. (*Let jollification Become Alive*; Guan hua Liang; 1987-4-1)
53. 以至到后来“私奔”离家出走,都是以他独特的方式和**家庭**中的封建思想作斗争的。(《让热闹“热闹”起来》; 梁冠华; 1987-4-1) Even his elopement to run away from home later was his unique way of fighting with the feudal thoughts in the family. (*Let jollification Become Alive*; Guan hua Liang; 1987-4-1)
54. 语言是梭子,一来一往地编织着感情的网络,也使我发现了在那个古朴**家庭**中未曾发现的优点,……。(《危栏》; 俞天白; 1981-9-1) Language was a shuttle to wave back and forth a network of emotion, and also made me discover the advantages never discovered in that quaint family. (*High Hurdles*; Tian bai Yu; 1981-9-1)
55. 在我这种**家庭**里,父母在某些事情上总是对孩子讳莫如深。(《海火》; 徐小斌; 1988-12-1) In the type of my family, parents always kept it as a taboo for children about certain things. (*Sea Fire*; Xiao bin Xu; 1988-12-1)
56. 葬送在一个根本不存在夫妻温情,没有任何信赖依靠可言的**家庭**中? (《一个警察的 24 小时》; 窦卫华; 1993-2-1) Did (she) want to ruin everything in a family without the warmth of love, trust and reliance? (*The 24 Hours of a Policeman*; Wei hua Dou; 1993-2-1)
57. 她不仅在**家庭**中成了孤儿,仿佛在社会上也成了孤儿。(《春风得意》; 刘彦林; 1983-8-1) She became an orphan not only in the family, but also in the society. (*The Spring Breeze Has Obtained Its Wish*; Yan lin Liu; 1983-8-1)
58. 弄堂里,**家庭**中又吹出了冷风,比扬州数九天的风更厉害,……。(《太阳,你什么时候欠起脚跟》; 相朴; 1986-7-20) In the alleys and family, the cold wind was blowing out again, which was even sharper than that of the coldest winter time in Yangzhou…… (*The Sun, When You Will Be On Your Toes*; Pu Xiang; 1986-7-20)
59. 这个**家庭**中柔弱的幼子,这个平时对父母恭敬孝顺的王惠然,这一次居然敢造反,敢违抗父母之命,……! (《太阳,你什么时候欠起脚跟》; 相朴; 1986-7-20) Hui-ran Wang, who was the weak youngest son in the family and always showed filial obedience to his parents, dared to go so far as to rebel and disobey his parents' words this time……! (*The Sun, When You Will Be On Your Toes*; Pu Xiang; 1986-7-20)
60. 在**家庭**里,无疑的,母亲是主人。(《春天到了鸭绿江》; 雷加; 1954-9-1) In the family, no doubt mother was the master. (*The Spring Arrives the Yalu River*; Jia Lei; 1954-9-1)

61. “你是出身在无产阶级**家庭**里，可是你对我们无产阶级革命事业抱什么态度呢？”（《年青的一代》；陈耘，赵明；1965-10-1） “You are born into a proletariat family, but what attitude do you hold for our revolutionary cause of the proletariat?” (*Young Generation*; Yun Chen, Ming Zhao; 1965-10-1)
62. 哪有一个丈夫能在不愉快的**家庭**里面对着端庄不欢的年轻的太太久坐着的呢；在**家庭**里，父亲是矜持的，……。（《混沌》；骆宾基；1947-1-1） There was no husband who could face a sedate but unhappy young wife in a family and sit for a long time; in the family, father was reserved ... (*Chaos*; Bin ji Luo; 1947-1-1)
63. 一个作客的人应该先懂得这个**家庭**里有些什么人，这些人又是具有怎么一种身份……（《无声的歌女》；凤子；1946-5-1） A guest should first know what people are there in the family as well as their identities…… (*The Silent Singing Girl*; Zi Feng; 1946-5-1)
64. 仿佛有一道金光在眼前闪现，把这比较简单枯燥的**家庭**严饰得新鲜而美丽，他心头暗自向母亲说，“将来你在这样可爱的**家庭**里生活，始终悲愁的眉眼总该展开来温温地笑吧。”（《倪焕之》；叶绍钧；1939-1-7） There seemed to be a golden light flashed in front of his eyes, which made the simple, boring family fresh and beautiful. He told his mother secretly on his mind, “In the future you will live in such a lovely family, so your always sad, low-spirited eyes and brows should spread and smile warmly this time.” (*Huan zhi Ni*; Shao jun Ye; 1939-1-7)
65. 母亲着意去想像一个女学生在**家庭**里操作的情形，但终于模糊。（《倪焕之》；叶绍钧；1939-1-7） Mother took pains to imagine the situation of a female student's management in the family, but everything was vague. (*Huan zhi Ni*; Shao jun Ye; 1939-1-7)
66. 她告诉我：她们已经得着**家庭**里的谅解，下月初将和小王订婚了。（《车》；王朱；1941-10-5） She told me that they had gained the forgiveness in the family, and would have an engagement with Xiao Wang at the beginning of next month. (*The Car*; Zhu Wang; 1941-10-5)
67. 这一类的琐事，是**家庭**中最有味的谈话资料，……？（《静》；陈纬谟；1942-9-5） Such type of trifles is the most delicious material for talks in the family……? (*Silence*; Wei mo Chen; 1942-9-5)
68. 在西洋**家庭**里，丈母娘跟女婿间的争斗，是至今保存的古风，我们中国**家庭**里婆婆和媳妇的敌视，也不输他们那样悠久的历史。（《围城》；钱钟书；1990-12-1） In western families, the fight between a mother-in-law and a son-in-law is a traditional custom kept until now, while in our Chinese families the hostility between a mother-in-law and a son's wife does not lose a long history either. (*Besieged City*; Zhong shu Qian; 1990-12-1)
69. 大**家庭**里做媳妇的女人平时吃饭的肚子要小，受气的肚子要大；……。（《围城》；钱钟书；1990-12-1） The women as wives in big families should in normal times have a small belly for eating but big belly for being bullied…… (*Besieged City*; Zhong shu Qian; 1990-12-1)
70. 春在人间，春在这小小的**家庭**里。（《我要逃避》；唐弢；1939-11-1） Spring was in the world, in this tiny family. (*I Want to Escape*; Tao Tang; 1939-11-1)

71. 我受着他们如傀儡般的搬弄，在莫明其妙中，被抬到了一个陌生的**家**，充满了大**家庭**气氛的**家**。  
(《我的丈夫》; 灏; 1939-9-1) I was under their moves like a puppet, and was carried into an unfamiliar family in a baffling situation, a family full of atmosphere of a big family. (*My Husband*; Han; 1939-9-1)
72. 你们住在大**家庭**里自由虽是不自由一些，……? (《我们在忙什么》; 冯和仪; 1939-6-1) It was true that you were not so free to live in a big family……? (*What Are We Busy With*; He yi Feng; 1939-6-1)
73. 小**家庭**里最麻烦的是娘姨，……。 (《我们在忙什么》; 冯和仪; 1939-6-1) In a small family, the most troublesome was the maidservant…… (*What Are We Busy With*; He yi Feng; 1939-6-1)
74. 在喜气洋洋的**家庭**中，是不容愁苦的脸的。 (《千万妇女中的一个呻吟者》; 爰言; 1939-3-1) In a family full of joy, a woeful face was not tolerated. (*The Groaning Woman Among the Thousands*; Yan Yuan; 1939-3-1)
75. 一个由繁杂**家庭**之中培养出的孩子，群居虽也显不出过分的忻喜…… (《泪》; 1941-8-5) A child raised up in a miscellaneous family could not display too much joy over living in groups. (*Tears*; 1941-8-5)
76. 不过，我相信她是生在很幸运的**家庭**里，有女仆为她烧饭，为她到街头去买零碎的东西。 (《病》; 舒群; 1936-11-10) But I believed that she was born into a lucky family, and she had a maid to cook and buy small things on the street for her. (*Illness*; Qun Shu; 1936-11-10)
77. 我还年青，我还是刚从礼教**家庭**中跳出来的孩子，我需要一个导师……。 (《探望》; 白朗; 1936-10-25) I was still young. I was still a child who just jumped out of the feudal family. I needed a mentor…… (*A Visit*; Lang Bai; 1936-10-25)
78. 然而无论怎样，**家庭**里多一个生物，即如一个小狗或小猫，也总是有些生气。 (《成年的悲哀》; 李广田; 1936-10-1) However, no matter what happened, it made (me) angry when one more living being was added into the family, even it was a dog or a cat. (*The Grief of Growing Up*; Guang tian Li; 1936-10-1)
79. 据说这种药粉常常被一片小纸包着附贴在女人们系袜带的大腿间以散播到许多**家庭**里去。 (《县城风光》; 何其芳; 1936-12-1) It was said that such medicine powder usually was wrapped into small paper bags and spread into many families by being bound to women's legs with garters. (*The County Scenery*; Qi fang He; 1936-12-1)
80. 像那末一个年轻的女人，只凭着一颗追求真理的热烈的心，便从七八千里的家乡，一个最顽固的**家庭**里逃出来，过着最低限度的生活，……。 (《让悲哀永留在心中》; 陈毅; 1937-5-5) Only with a fervent heart for the pursuit of truth, such a young woman escaped out of the most stubborn family from her hometown seven or eight kilometers far away and live the lowest level of life…… (*Let Sorrow Stay Forever in the Heart*; Yi Chen; 1937-5-5)
81. 而且她生长在富有的**家庭**中，……。 (《归来之前》; 舒群; 1936-9-20) Moreover, she grew up in a wealthy family…… (*Before Coming Back*; Qun Shu; 1936-9-20)
82. 一个女子跑出**家庭**，走入社会，……。 (《职业女子的徬徨》; 健仪; 1939-10-16) A woman ran out of the family and went into the society…… (*The Hesitation of the Working Women*; Yi Jian; 1939-10-16)

83. 也稍微可以看出是传教**家庭**生长出来的人物，……。 (《勃克夫人会晤记》；毕树棠; 1939-4-1) It could be slightly seen that she was a person growing out of a missionary family..... (A Meeting with Mrs. Buck; Shu tang Bi; 1939-4-1)
84. .... 凡是朋友光临到我们这个不像样的**家庭**里来，妻总是不问亲疏，……。 (《胡子》；索非; 1939-9-1) .... Any friend who came into our unrepresentable family to visit us, my wife was always in hospitality..... (Mustache; Fei Suo; 1939-9-1)
85. 我那时是在旧**家庭**中伏着的小女孩，……。 (《故人东行》；林汾; 1931-4-1) At that time, I was a little girl crouching in the old family..... (The Old Friend Went East; Fen Lin; 1931-4-1)
86. 新中国刚一成立，新法接生的宣传便象春风一样吹进祖国的城市乡村，深入到了每一个**家庭**。 (《贺诚传》；冯彩章, 李葆定; 1984-12-1) Once the new China was established, the promotion of the new method of child delivery was like spring wind blowing into the cities and villages of the country as well as deep into every family. (The Biography of Cheng He; Cai zhang Feng, Bao ding Li; 1984-12-1)
87. 他是在晓庆 3 岁时进入这个**家庭**的。 (《银海弄潮儿—刘晓庆》；杨晓雄, 乃明; 1988-4-1) He went into this family when Xiaqing was three years old. (The Tide Player of the Silver Screen—Xiao qing Liu; Xiao xiong Yang, Ming Nai; 1988-4-1)
88. **家庭**之内的许多其它工作，她并不是做不了，也不是要费很大的力气。 (《从御妹到平民》；凌冰; 1988-3-1) She neither could not do many other tasks in the family nor need to spend great efforts to do them. (From a Noble Girl to a Common People; Bing Ling; 1988-3-1)
89. 所幸他母亲的性格温柔敦厚，**家庭**里的生活还是和谐愉快的。 (《韬奋》；穆欣; 1962-9-1) It was lucky that his mother had a gentle and honest personality, so the life in the family was harmonious and happy. (Tao Fen; Xin Mu; 1962-9-1)
90. **家庭**里，父母只要求学习成绩。 (《中学琼瑶热》；肖复兴; 1987-1-1) In the families, parents only required the results of the studies. (The Hot Wave of Qiongyao in Middle Schools; Fu xing Xiao; 1987-1-1)
91. 她是在这样的环境、这样的**家庭**里长大的。 (《大海里，有一叶小舟》；刘健屏, 杨守松; 1984-1-1) She grew up in such an environment and such a family. (On The Sea, There Is A Small Boat; Jian ping Liu, Shou song Yang; 1984-1-1)
92. 因此，在这个和睦的多子女**家庭**里，他们这小兄妹的感情就显得更其亲密。 (《秋天的云》；王传珍; 1982-8-5) Therefore, in this harmonious family with many children, the relation between them as brother and little sister seemed to be much closer. (The Clouds Of Autumn; Chuan zhen Wang; 1982-8-5)
93. 比方，两个同样双生子，如果自幼分养在贫富阶级不同的**家庭**里，长大以后，面貌虽然会相似，但知识和技能等发展的方面，两人就很不同了。 (《遗传和变遗》；克士; 1935-8-1) For example, if the twins were raised up separately in two families which belonged to different wealth classes since childhood, though their faces might be similar after growing up, their developmental aspects like knowledge, skills and so on would be very different from each other. (Inheritance and Variation; Shi Ke; 1935-8-1)

94. 于是人类**家庭**中又添了一个好朋友，同时也就得到一个捕鼠的能手。（《我们的两个好朋友》；董纯才；1983-3-1） One good friend was added into the family of humans, at the same time humans got a skillful rat catcher. (*Our Two Good Friends*; Chun cai dong; 1983-3-1)
95. .... 可以在整个的**家庭**中出现，是一种种族退化的现象。（《驼背》；刘春生；1950-11-1） .... (It) can appear in the whole family, and a phenomenon of retrogression of the species. (*Hunchback*; Chun sheng Liu; 1950-11-1)
96. 在燃料的**家庭**里，有各色各样的人物，它们大半都是以燃烧为职业的。（《燃料的家庭》；高士其；1957-12-1） In the family of fuel, there are various figures, half of which hold a profession of burning. (*The Fuel's Family*; Shi qi Gao; 1957-12-1)
97. 这样，布克才成了我们四号院子--这个亲密大**家庭**中的一分子。（《布克的奇遇》；萧建亨；1962-9-1） In this way, Boock became one member of this close big family of our Number Four courtyard. (*The Adventure of Boock*; Jian heng Xiao; 1962-9-1)
98. 在我们这个几乎人人勤劳的**家庭**里，不干活已经不能得到原谅，可他，我们的懒惰父亲，还要摆出一副长者的大架子，.....，成天指手画脚，好象只有他最忙碌、最操心、最关心我们这个**家庭**，.....。（《怪孩子的梦》；李绪萱；1982-11-1） In our family, almost everybody was laborious, and it was not forgiven if anyone did not work. But he, our lazy father, still put on airs as a superior..... and always interfering as if there were only him who was the busiest, who bothered and cared most about our family..... (*The Strange Child's Dream*; Xu xuan Li; 1982-11-1)
99. “你们工蜂如果不绝对服从蜂王的命令，**家庭**里能象现在这样秩序井然吗？”（《怪孩子的梦》；李绪萱；1982-11-1） “If you the worker bees do not absolutely obey the orders of the queen bee, is there going to be as orderly as it is now in the family?” (*The Strange Child's Dream*; Xu xuan Li; 1982-11-1)
- 100.....，所以它意味着妇女在**家庭**内是占统治地位的，居于受到高度尊敬的位置。（《家庭学概论》；高健生，刘宁；1986-7-1） ..... Therefore, it means that women occupy the dominant status within a family, and reside on a highly respected position. (*An Introduction to Family Studies*; Jian sheng Gao, Ning Liu; 1986-7-1)
- 101.对偶**家庭**中的两性关系并不是以两性感情为基础的，而是以“方便和需要为基础。”（《家庭学概论》；高健生，刘宁；1986-7-1） The relation between two sexes in a paring family is not based on affection, but on “convenience and need.” (*An Introduction to Family Studies*; Jian sheng Gao, Ning Liu; 1986-7-1)
- 102.其次，对偶**家庭**中的家务劳动增加了许多新的内容，.....。（《家庭学概论》；高健生，刘宁；1986-7-1） Secondly, the housework in a paring family has added many new contents..... (*An Introduction to Family Studies*; Jian sheng Gao, Ning Liu; 1986-7-1)
- 103.而在一夫一妻制**家庭**中，家务劳动一般地是一种私人劳动，.....。（《家庭学概论》；高健生，刘宁；1986-7-1） But in a monogamous family, housework is usually a kind of personal work..... (*An Introduction to Family Studies*; Jian sheng Gao, Ning Liu; 1986-7-1)

104. 如果一个外人通过正式的收继仪式进入了某一家庭, ..... (《文化人类学》; 童恩正; 1989-3-1) If a stranger enters into a certain family through the formal ceremony ..... (*Cultural Anthropology*; En zheng Tong; 1989-3-1)
105. 她们在家庭中毫无地位, 不但没有任何经济权利, 甚至连本属于自己的财产也无权过问和处置。 (《妇女学概论》; 贺正时, 刘红姣; 1987-2-1) They had no position in a family. They not only did not have any economic rights, but also could not manage and take an interest in their own property. (*An Introduction on Women Studies*; Zheng shi He, Hong jiao Liu; 1987-2-1)
106. 在夫权的统治下, 妇女在家庭中毫无地位, 妻子成了丈夫的一种私有物。 (《妇女学概论》; 贺正时, 刘红姣; 1987-2-1) Under the rule of the authority of the husband, women had no position in the families, and wives became a personal belonging to their husbands. (*An Introduction on Women Studies*; Zheng shi He, Hong jiao Liu; 1987-2-1)
107. 由于世界不少国家对于妇女在婚姻家庭中的平等地位作了法律规定, ..... 更由于越来越多的妇女走出家门参加工作, 在社会劳动中发挥了新的作用, 同时也增加了家庭收入, 这使部分国家的妇女在婚姻家庭中的地位有了很大提高。 (《妇女学概论》; 贺正时, 刘红姣; 1987-2-1) A lot of countries on the world put into their laws that women should have an equal status in marriage and family ..... Therefore, the women's status in marriage and family in part of those countries has risen up considerably. (*An Introduction on Women Studies*; Zheng shi He, Hong jiao Liu; 1987-2-1)
108. 但有不少国家的妇女在婚姻家庭中还处于不幸和痛苦之中。 (《妇女学概论》; 贺正时, 刘红姣; 1987-2-1) But there are still many countries in which the women suffer the misfortune and pains in marriage and family. (*An Introduction on Women Studies*; Zheng shi He, Hong jiao Liu; 1987-2-1)
109. 小汽车、电冰箱、洗衣机、电视机、电话机、空调机等, 已经广泛进入普通工人的家庭。 (《思想政治》(初中二年级下册); 1992-11-1) Cars, fridges, washing machines, televisions, telephones and air-conditioners and so on have already widely entered into the families of common workers. (*Ideological and Political Work (for the second year students in middle schools)*; 1992-11-1)
110. 以上事实都充分说明, 在人民民主专政的社会主义祖国的大家庭内, 各少数民族人民都和汉族人民一样, 行使着当家作主的权利。 (《思想政治》(初中三年级全一册); 1992-6-1) All the facts above have sufficiently shown that within the big socialist family of our country with the people's democratic dictatorship, all minority nationalities has the same right of being the masters of the country as that of the Han nationality. (*Ideological and Political Work (for the third year students in middle schools)*; 1992-6-1)
111. 随着生产力的提高和社会经济文化事业的发展, 广大妇女走出家庭, 参加劳动, 取得了经济独立。 (《法学通论》; 陈春龙, 肖贤富; 1981-6-1) With the increasing productivity and development of social economic and cultural undertakings, the broad mass of women have gone out of the families, and joined the labor to gain their economic independence. (*General Theories of the Law*; Chun long Chen, Xian fu Xiao; 1981-6-1)
112. 为了保护子女在家庭中的合法利益, 婚姻家庭法不仅明确规定父母有抚养教育子女的义务, 而且还规定这种义务不因父母离婚而免除, ..... (《法学通论》; 陈春龙, 肖贤富; 1981-6-1) In order to protect the legal interests of children in a family, the law of marriage and family has not only clearly stipulated the

duty of the parents to raise and educate their children, but also stipulated that such duty will not be exempted because of divorce..... (*General Theories of the Law*; Chun long Chen, Xian fu Xiao; 1981-6-1)

- 113.它规定调整婚姻、家庭关系的基本原则和结婚、离婚的条件，以及夫妻、父母、子女和其他家庭成员在**家庭**中的权利和义务。 (《法学概论》；宋治安; 1987-12-1) It stipulates the basic principles of adjusting marriage and family relations and the conditions of marriage and divorce, as well as the rights and duties of husband, wife, parents, children and other family members in the family. (*Introduction to the Law*; Zhi'an Song; 1987-12-1)
- 114.在家庭关系方面，奴隶制法律还规定了家长在**家庭**中享有支配一切的特权和妻子、子女的无权地位。 (《法学概论》；1985-5-1) In the aspect of family relation, slavery laws also stipulated that leaders of families enjoyed the privilege of domination in everything in the families, and the wives and children's positions of having no rights. (*Introduction to the Law*; 1985-5-1)
- 115.罗伯斯比尔出生于法国北部阿尔土瓦省阿拉斯城的一个律师**家庭**里。 (《西方法律思想史》；张宏生, 谷春德; 1990-3-1) Roberts Bill was born into a lawyer's family in the town of Arras in the northern France. (*History of Western Legal Thoughts*; Hong sheng Zhang, Chun de Gu; 1990-3-1)
- 116.1895 年 5 月出身于一个小庄园主的**家庭**里，.....。 (《世界现代史》；1986-5-1) (He) was born into a family of the lord of a small manor in May, 1895..... (*Modern World History*; 1986-5-1)
- 117.如被杀者是**家庭**中的主要劳动力，杀人者要负责扶养被杀者家庭成员而到其能劳动时为止。 (《鄂伦春社会的发展》；秋浦; 1980-10-1) If the murder's victim is the main labor in the family, the murderer should be responsible to take care of the family members of the victim until they can work. (*The Development of Oroqen Society*; Pu Qiu; 1980-10-1)
- 118.这一当年一个部落的名称，从古代延续下来，则成为今天我国多民族大**家庭**中达斡尔民族的族称了。 (《达斡尔族简史》；1986-11-1) Such a name of a tribe has lasted from ancient times till now, and today becomes the name of Daur ethnic group in our country's big multiracial family. (*Brief History of the Daur Ethnic Group*; 1986-11-1)
- 119.这种社会主义的新**家庭**，不仅把婚姻包容在**家庭**之中，还把爱情包容在婚姻之中，.....。 (《中国宏观社会学》；程继隆; 1990-11-1) Such type of socialist new families not only includes marriage into the family, but also includes love in the marriage..... (*Chinese Macro Sociology*; Ji long Cheng; 1990-11-1)
- 120.这种外在因素，必须通过**家庭**内在的矛盾性，才能对**家庭**发生影响和制约作用。 (《中国宏观社会学》；程继隆; 1990-11-1) This kind of external elements must make its way through the contradictions within a family to influence and restrain it. (*Chinese Macro Sociology*; Ji long Cheng; 1990-11-1)
- 121.谁都知道，人们生活在社会上，同时也生活在一个**家庭**之中，每个人都有双重的社会关系：一是在社会上从事物质生活资料的生所形成的生产关系和其它社会关系；二是**家庭**中从事人自身的生产所形成的**家庭**中的经济关系和其它社会关系。 (《中国宏观社会学》；程继隆; 1990-11-1) It is known that people live in the society and in a family at the same time. Everybody has double social relations: one is the production relation and other social relations formed through the involvement of the life materials production; another is the economic relation and other social relations formed within the family through the personal reproduction in the family. (*Chinese Macro Sociology*; Ji long Cheng; 1990-11-1)



122. 社会生产关系和其它社会关系，必然通过人们的活动反映到**家庭**中来，从而影响和制约着**家庭**中的经济关系和其它社会关系。（《中国宏观社会学》；程继隆；1990-11-1） Social relations of production and other social relations must reflect into families through people's activities, and further influence and restrain the economic and other social relations in the families. (*Chinese Macro Sociology*; Ji long Cheng; 1990-11-1)
123. **家庭**中的经济关系和其它社会关系的变化，又直接影响和制约着**家庭**中的两性和血统关系，促使**家庭**在自身的自然关系和社会关系的矛盾运动中不断向前发展，由低级形态进入高级形态。（《中国宏观社会学》；程继隆；1990-11-1） The changes of economic and other social relations in a family will directly influence and restrain the relations of the two sexes and blood ties within a family, and urge the family to develop forward continuously from lower form into higher form in the contradictions between its natural relations and its social relations. (*Chinese Macro Sociology*; Ji long Cheng; 1990-11-1)
124. 直到私有制产生之后，男子掌握了**家**内的财产权，要求变革财产继承制度。（《中国宏观社会学》；程继隆；1990-11-1） After the emergence of private ownership, men took the control of property in a family, and demanded to change the system of property inheritance. (*Chinese Macro Sociology*; Ji long Cheng; 1990-11-1)
125. .... 奴才可能是最诚实的人，是**家庭**里的模范，是优秀的公民，但他必然要虚伪，.....。（《简明社会学》；吴铎；1986-8-1） ..... A lackey is possible to be the most honest person and the model in a family. He is a good citizen, but he is inevitably hypocritical..... (*Simple Sociology*; Duo Wu; 1986-8-1)
126. 代际流动是指每个**家庭**中两代人在社会职业、社会地位上的变化。（《社会学教程》；吴方桐；1992-3-1） Intergenerational mobility refers to the changes in the social professions and social status of two generations in every family. (*A Course Book of Sociology*; Fang tong Wu; 1992-3-1)
127. 婚姻家庭制度就包括夫妻之间、亲子之间以及各亲属之间相互对待的权利义务规范，从而确定了**家庭**中各个地位（丈夫、妻子、父母、子女等，）之间稳定的关系，即建立了**家庭**地位结构。（《社会学》；董驹翔；1990-12-1） Marriage and family system includes the standards of the duties and the rights between husband and wife, parents and children and among the relatives, and accordingly confirm the stable relation of every position (husband, wife, parents and children) in the family so as to establish the structure of family status. (*Sociology*; Ju xiang Dong; 1990-12-1)
128. 妇女只有参加社会劳动，在为社会创造财富当中争取经济独立，才能改善妇女自身在社会和**家庭**中的地位。（《社会主义社会学》；高平；1991-7-1） Only though participation in the social work and gaining the economic independence in the process of creating wealth for the society can women improve their own status in the society and family. (*Socialist Sociology*; Ping Gao; 1991-7-1)
129. 在奴隶主和自由民的**家庭**里，家长至尊，在**家**中享有至高无上的地位和权力，.....。（《中国宏观社会学》；程继隆；1990-11-1） In the families of slave owners and free men, the leaders of the families were supreme, and enjoyed an absolute power and status in the families. .... (*Chinese Macro Sociology*; Ji long Cheng; 1990-11-1)

- 130....., 反映到**家庭**中的夫妻关系上, 便是丈夫对妻子的统治。 (《中国宏观社会学》; 程继隆; 1990-11-1) ..... (It) got reflected on the relation between a husband and a wife in a family, and became the husband's dominance over the wife. (*Chinese Macro Sociology*; Ji long Cheng; 1990-11-1)
- 131....., 就是指封建**家庭**中的家长--父亲是**家**中的至尊者。 (《中国宏观社会学》; 程继隆; 1990-11-1) ..... (It) indicates that the leaders in the feudal families—the fathers are supreme figure in the families. (*Chinese Macro Sociology*; Ji long Cheng; 1990-11-1)
- 132....., **家庭**内部关系基本上是平等的。 (《中国宏观社会学》; 程继隆; 1990-11-1) ..... The relations inside a family are basically equal. (*Chinese Macro Sociology*; Ji long Cheng; 1990-11-1)
- 133.由于婚姻与爱情相分离, 人们只能在婚姻与**家庭**之外寻找快乐。 (《中国宏观社会学》; 程继隆; 1990-11-1) Marriage and love are separated, so people can only search happiness outside marriage and family. (*Chinese Macro Sociology*; Ji long Cheng; 1990-11-1)
- 134.老年人的这些心理现象, 在社会上或**家庭**中都会形成一系列的矛盾。 (《商业心理学》; 杜本然; 1984-7-1) These mental phenomena of the elder people can lead to a series of contradictions in the society or in the families. (*Business Psychology*; Ben ran Du; 1984-7-1)
- 135..... 患者的**家庭**中。 (《医学心理学概论》; 严和钺; 1983-4-1) ..... In the family of the patient. (*Introduction to Medical Psychology*; He qin Yan; 1983-4-1)
- 136....., **家庭**中困难问题很多。 (《领导心理学》; 俞文钊; 1987-1-1) ..... There were a lot of difficulties in the family. (*Psychology for Leadership*; Wen zhao Yu; 1987-1-1)
- 137.在**家庭**中, 父母既要尽保护子女的责任, 也有教育子女的责任。 (《幼儿心理学》; 丁祖荫; 1986-6-1) In a family, parents should perform their responsibilities of both protecting their children and educate them. (*Children Psychology*; Zu yin Ding; 1986-6-1)
- 138.在有老人的**家庭**中, 父母更要注意处理好**家庭**中的人际关系,.....。 (《幼儿心理学》; 丁祖荫; 1986-6-1) In a family with old people, parents should be more attentive to deal with the interpersonal relations in the family..... (*Children Psychology*; Zu yin Ding; 1986-6-1)
- 139.特别是**家庭**中的成人、教师和同伴, 对儿童性格的形成影响最大。 (《小学儿童心理学》; 胡德辉; 1983-6-1) Particularly, the adults in the family, teachers and companions have the biggest influence on the formation of a child's personality. (*Primary School Children Psychology*; De hui Hu; 1983-6-1)
- 140.家庭成员之间的关系不和睦、不民主, 特别是父母离婚或儿童在**家庭**中受到歧视, 寄人篱下, 会影响儿童性格的健康发展。 (《小学儿童心理学》; 胡德辉; 1983-6-1) If the relation between family members is not harmonious or democratic, especially the parents are divorced and children suffer discrimination and depend on others for a living in the family, the healthy development of the personality of children will be affected. (*Primary School Children Psychology*; De hui Hu; 1983-6-1)
- 141.在社会化影响下, 产生了**家庭**之间和**家庭**内部的上述不同因素, .....。 (《妇女心理学》; 陈元晖; 1987-4-1) Under the influence of socialization, the above different elements emerge between and inside families..... (*Women Psychology*; Yuan hui Chen; 1987-4-1)

- 142.她不期望走出**家庭**参加工作,.....。 (《妇女心理学》; 陈元晖; 1987-4-1) She did not expect to walk out the family to work..... (*Women Psychology*; Yuan hui Chen; 1987-4-1)
- 143.在这样的**家庭**中,瑶族成员通常都说壮语,壮语便成了多民族家庭的通用语。 (《文化语言学》; 邢福义; 1990-1-1) In such families, members of the Yao nationality usually speak the Zhuang language, which becomes the lingua franca of the multiracial family. (*Cultural Linguistics*; Fu yi Xing; 1990-1-1)
- 144.可是,当他们的这种合法权利受到来自外界和**家庭**内部的阻挠,被迫失学当了“流生”,转而当“童工”或其他佣工时,并不知道依据义务教育法维护自己上学的权利。 (《教育与社会》; 吴铎; 1991-1-1) But when their legal rights were hindered with the families or by the outside world, they were deprived of schooling to become “drop-outs” and then “child workers” or other work hands. They did not know they could maintain their own rights of receiving education according to the compulsory education law. (*Education and the Society*; Duo Wu; 1991-1-1)
- 145.当她逃出封建**家庭**在北戴河海边徘徊时,我们就关注着她的遭遇。 (《文艺理论》; 郑国铨; 1981-9-1) When she escaped out of the feudal family and lingered about the seaside of Beidaihe, we were paying close attention to her bitter experience. (*Theory of Literature and Art*; Guo quan Zheng; 1981-9-1)
- 146.“在这种**家庭**中,长一辈是前清的官员,下一辈靠父亲或祖父的财产过奢侈闲懒的生活,年轻的一代却想冲出这种‘象牙的牢笼’。” (《文学原理》; 王元骧; 1980-4-1) “In such kind of family, the elder generations were the officials of the Qing Dynasty, and the younger generations relied on the property of their father and grandfather and lived a lazy, luxurious life. The new young generation would like to run out of this ‘ivory cage’.” (*Theory of Literature*; Yuan xiang Wang; 1980-4-1)
- 147.这种面对着**家庭**里近距离内数名观众亲切交谈的要求,叫近距离亲切律。 (《中国电视新闻学》; 集体; 1991-1-1) The requirement of facing a number of audiences with close distance in the family and talking with them friendly is called the rate of close distance friendliness. (*Chinese Television Journalism*; Ti Ji; 1991-1-1)
- 148.……,仍然渗透出了在社会主义祖国的**大家**庭里,一方有难、八方支援的共产主义精神的芬芳。 (《现代新闻标题学》; 彭朝丞; 1989-1-1) ..... (It) still permeated the fragrance of the communist spirit of helping the people in need in our country of a socialist big family. (*Modern News Titles*; Chao cheng Peng; 1989-1-1)
- 149.对偶婚**家庭**唯一内含的不稳定因素是,夫妻常因感情不和而轻易发生离异,.....。 (《民俗学概论》; 集体; 1987-1-1) The only unstable element contained in a pairing family is that the couple often divorce easily because they are on bad terms with each other..... (*The Handbook of Folklore*; Ti Ji; 1987-1-1)
- 150.一夫多妻更多的出现在母系**家庭**之中。 (《民俗学概论》; 集体; 1987-1-1) Polygamy appeared more in the maternal families. (*The Handbook of Folklore*; Ti Ji; 1987-1-1)
- 151.家长制家庭的特点是父家长拥有绝对权威,同时**家庭**中包括非自由人的奴隶。 (《生活方式论》; 王玉波, 王雅林; 1989-1-1) The characteristic of a patriarchal family is the father, the leader of the family, possesses the absolute authority, and at the same time the family includes slaves in it. (*Views On Life Styles*; Yu bo Wang, Ya lin Wang; 1989-1-1)

- 152.在父权家长制**家庭**中，妻子除了生育子女之外，不过是一个女仆或女仆的头领（在贵族之家）而已。  
（《生活方式论》；王玉波，王雅林；1989-1-1） In a patriarchal family, the wife was only a maid or a leader of the maids (of a noble family) except for giving birth to children. (Views On Life Styles; Yu bo Wang, Ya lin Wang; 1989-1-1)
- 153.**家庭**里用来测量气温的温度计，大多是煤油温度计。（《物理》(初中第二册); 1992-6-1) Most of the thermometers used for measuring the temperature in families are kerosene thermometers. (Physics (for the second year middle school students); 1992-6-1)
- 154.这当然是很短促的，但在整个基本粒子的“**大家庭**”中，它还算是长寿的。（《原子物理学》；胡镜寰，王忠烈，刘玉华；1989-3-1） It is of course very short, but in the “big family” of elementary particles, it is still a long-lived one. (Atomic Physics; Jing huan Hu, Zhong lie Wang, Yu hua Liu; 1989-3-1)
- 155.电能表（即电度表）是计量消耗电能的仪表，**家庭**中常用 2.5 安、3 安、5 安三种规格的。（《物理》(高中第二册); 1992-6-1) The power meter is the device to measure the consumption of electricity, and the common used power meters in the families are 2.5 ampere, 3 ampere and 5 ampere models. (Physics (for second year high school students); 1992-6-1)
- 156.在一个集体或一个**家庭**里，得传染病的往往是个别人，少数人或一部分人，.....。（《病理生理学》；苏静怡，伍贻经，汤特；1991-8-1） In a group or a family, there was usually an individual, several people or a part of the people who got infected by communicable diseases..... (Morbid Physiology; Jing yi Su, Yi jing Wu, Te Tang; 1991-8-1)
- 157.“氏族制度，在绝大多数场合之下，似乎是从‘普那路亚’**家庭**中直接发生的。”（《氏族的起源及其中期发展》；梁剑韬；1963-8-5） “The clanship, under most of the occasions, seemed to occur directly in Punaluan families.” (The Origin and Mid-Term Development of Clanship; Jian tao Liang; 1963-8-5)
- 158.这种优良的风气在劳动人民的**家庭**中，表现得特别突出。（《尊敬和赡养父母是我国人民优良的传统》；朱伯昆；1956-12-16） This good custom is shown especially prominent in the families of the working people. (Respect and Support Parents are the Good Moral Traditions of Our People; Bo kun Zhu; 1956-12-16)
- 159.独立意识，悄悄走进**家庭**，当竞争机制引入到我们今天社会生活的方方面面之后，经济建设这架庞大机器就在严格地挑选着优秀人才。（《独立意识悄悄走进家庭》；霍纲；1992-10-1） The awareness of independence quietly went into families. After competition has been led into every aspect of our present social life, the machine of the economic construction has started to choose strictly the excellent talents. (The Awareness of Independence Quietly Enter into Families; Gang Huo; 1992-10-1)
- 160.微型**家庭**中，只有父母两种见解甚至是一种声音，.....。（《独立意识悄悄走进家庭》；霍纲；1992-10-1） In a mini-family, there are only two opinions coming respectively from the parents or even one type of voice..... (The Awareness of Independence Quietly Enter into Families; Gang Huo; 1992-10-1)
- 161.全由北京广播学院的大学生在两天之内徒步分送到北京城内一个个**家庭**中；.....这些都是有偿的，他们试着在经济上少依赖**家庭**。（《独立意识 悄悄走进家庭》；霍纲；1992-10-1） (They) were all distributed into the families in Beijing city in two days on foot by students from Beijing Broadcasting

- Institute; ..... All these service were paid, and they tried to rely less on the families. (*The Awareness of Independence Quietly Enter into Families*; Gang Huo; 1992-10-1)
- 162.商品经济的进入, 迅速地把独立意识“销售”到**家庭**中。 (《独立意识 悄悄走进家庭》; 霍纲; 1992-10-1) The entry of commodity economy quickly ‘sold’ the awareness of independence into families. (*The Awareness of Independence Quietly Enter into Families*; Gang Huo; 1992-10-1)
- 163.这一时期注重**家庭**现状研究, 重点是**家庭**中的人际关系。 (《家庭学的缘起和演进》; 汤为本; 1986-7-1) During that period of time, the research laid more emphasis on the family’s present situation, especially the interpersonal relations in a family. (*The Origin and Evolution of Family Study*; Wei ben Tang; 1986-7-1)
- 164.我生长在一个比较富裕的**家庭**里, 我的父亲曾经两次到过美国。 (《肃清殖民地教育给我的影响》; 毛亦青; 1951-3-27) I grew up in a wealthy family, and my father had been to America two times. (*Eliminating the Effects of Colony Education on Me*; Yi qing Mao; 1951-3-27)
- 165.有很长一段时间, 我们认为妇女走出**家庭**才是革命的标志。 (《建立社会主义的家庭教育学》; 余心言; 1982-4-20) In a pretty long period of time, we were thinking that the symbol of revolution for women was to walk out of the families. (*Construction of the Socialist Family Education*; Xin yan Yu; 1982-4-20)
- 166.在一个**家庭**里面, 职业往往是世袭的, ..... (《建立社会主义的家庭教育学》; 余心言; 1982-4-20) In a family, profession was usually inherited..... (*Construction of the Socialist Family Education*; Xin yan Yu; 1982-4-20)
- 167.当这种劳动被局限在一个个**家庭**中时, 它就不再被承认为社会劳动了。 (《建立社会主义的家庭教育学》; 余心言; 1982-4-20) When such kind of work was restrained within each family, it was no longer acknowledged as social work. (*Construction of the Socialist Family Education*; Xin yan Yu; 1982-4-20)
168. ...., 它也走进了现代生活的**家庭**领域, ..... (《神奇吐芬的磨漆画》; 徐昌酩; 1988-11-10) ..... It also went into the domain of family in modern life..... (*The Mysterious, Fragrant Polished Lacquer Paintings*; Chang ming Xu; 1988-11-10)
- 169.现在, 苏联为了维系它在“大**家庭**”中的霸主地位, 已不得不把一半以上的出口石油供应经互会国家, ..... (《石油—苏联争霸的工具》; 于棣; 1979-8-1) At present, the Soviet Union had to provide more than half of the exported oil to CMEA countries in order to maintain its hegemonic position in the ‘big family’. (*Oil—The Soviet Union’s Tool to Seek Hegemony*; Di Yu; 1979-8-1)
- 170.人在庄上劳动, 而心里还挂念着**家庭**中的事情。 (《农业集体化的幸福道路》; 陈作卿; 1953-12-3) People were working at the village, but concerning with affairs in the families on their minds. (*The Happy Road of the Collectivization of Agriculture*; Zuo qing Chen; 1953-12-3)
- 171.大约于公元前 340 年出生在湖北秭归县的一个贵族**家庭**里。 (《汨罗江畔屈子祠》; 钟德灿; 1981-8-20) (He) was born into a noble family in Zigui County, Hubei province in about 340 B.C. (*The Memorial Temple of Qu at the Bank of Miluo River*; De can Zhong; 1981-8-20)

172. 吴敬梓就这样走出了他所出生的那个大家庭，开始做官僚地主阶级的不肖子孙了。（《吴敬梓及其〈儒林外史〉》；吴小如；1954-8-3） Jingzi Wu walked out that big family he was born into, and started to become an unworthy descendant of the bureaucrat landlord class. (*Jingzi Wu and His The Scholars*; Xiao ru Wu; 1954-8-3)
173. 一个家里，长辈人要为晚辈人长大操心，在革命的大家庭里，革命的老一辈一定要为革命的接班人多操心。（《赞接班人周阴山》；梁振海；1964-5-1） In a family, the elder generations would worry about the growth of the younger generations, while in the big family of revolution, the revolutionary elder generations were sure to worry a lot about the successors. (*Praising The Successor Yinshan Zhou*; Zhen hai Liang; 1964-5-1)
174. 一九五六年八月六日，罗燕出生在一个知识分子家庭里。（《人生没有单行道》；林志刚；1985-5-1） On August 6<sup>th</sup>, 1956, Yan Luo was born into an intellectual family. (*There Is No One-Way Street in Life*; Zhi gang Lin; 1985-5-1)
175. 这期间家庭内部不和给他的影响也是巨大的。（《天才之死》；徐军；1990-8-9） During this time, contradictions inside the family also affected him greatly. (*The Death of a Talent*; Jun Xu; 1990-8-9)
176. .... 在畸形的家庭中养成的孤僻、敏感的性格，还是溶化在五十年代那种开朗的气氛中。（《在电影海报前看张贤亮》；周良沛；1983-5-10） The sensitive, unsociable and eccentric personality just melted in the optimistic atmosphere of 1950s. (*Look At Xianliang Zhang in front of the Movie Poster*; Liang pei Zhou; 1983-5-10)
177. 无论是封建大家庭中随人摆布的下女，无论是专横跋扈、前倨后恭的势利太太，.....，宋丹丹都能很快适应角色，.....。（《宋丹丹，透明的姑娘》；达为；1986-5-10） No matter the role was a maid bandied about in a feudal family or a snobbish wife who was arbitrary and tyrannical and acted first superciliously and then deferentially..... Dandan Song could adapt herself quickly to the role..... (*Dandan Song, A Transparent Girl*; Wei Da; 1986-5-10)
178. 不，有一层愁云笼罩在这个小小的家庭里，.....。（《一条宽阔的道路》；张志明；1955-1-1） No, there was a layer of sorrow cloud shrouded inside this tiny family..... (*A Wide Road*; Zhi ming Zhang; 1955-1-1)
179. 可以说在任何一个家庭中都可以找到“哈里曼贸易公司”的商品，这家公司的子公司遍布世界各地。（《幻影商店》；焦国力；1981-12-1） It could be said that in any family, you could find the products from Harriman Trade Company, which had branches all over the world. (*The Phantom Shop*; Guo li Jiao; 1981-12-1)
180. 莫洛亚太太就是在这样的家庭中生长起来的一个古怪的女人。（《幻影商店》；焦国力；1981-12-1） Mrs. Maurois was such a strange woman who grew up in this kind of family. (*The Phantom Shop*; Guo li Jiao; 1981-12-1)
181. 在空气这个大家庭中，氮气最多，.....。（《小明收到的信》；冯中平；1979-2-1） In the big family of air, nitrogen has the biggest quantity..... (*The Letter Xiao Ming Received*; Zhong ping Feng; 1979-2-1)

182. 我在工作上是忠实于革命事业的，在**家庭**中也是你忠实的妻子。（《我们夫妻和好啦！》；小阿；1956-9-1） I was loyal to the course of revolution on my job, and I was also your loyal wife in the family. (*We Become Reconciled!*; Xiao A; 1956-9-1)
183. 对事业和工作的专注，可以使你站在一个较高的位置去看待和处理**家庭**中的琐事，.....。（《爱情必须时时更新、生长、创造》；笑冬；1981-5-26） The concentration on the career and job can make you stand on a higher position to see and deal with the trifles in the family..... (*Love Needs to Refresh, Grow and Create*; Dong Xiao; 1981-5-26)
184. 如果再让肩负一定工作的知识妇女回到**家庭**里去，侍候丈夫，照顾孩子，这不能不说是一种历史的倒退，也不符合多数知识妇女的意愿。（《“二保一”果真是一剂良药吗？》；姚国础；1985-10-15） If let those intellectual women with jobs go back into families to take care of their husbands and children, it could not help being a retrogression of history, and also went against the wish of most intellectual women. (*Is It Really A Good Remedy to "Guarantee One From Two"?*; Guo chu Yao; 1985-10-15)
185. 在家庭生活中，夫妻在**家庭**中的平等地位，决定了双方都应有承担家务的义务，这是家庭生活的需要。（《“二保一”果真是一剂良药吗？》；姚国础；1985-10-15） In family life, the equal status of the husband and the wife determined that both of them had the duty to undertake housework. This was the need of family life. (*Is It Really A Good Remedy to "Guarantee One From Two"?*; Guo chu Yao; 1985-10-15)
186. 据苏联有关部门调查表明，莫斯科青年**家庭**中拥有主要家用设备的百分比，洗衣机为 65%，吸尘机为 70%，电冰箱为 100%。（《“二保一”果真是一剂良药吗？》；姚国础；1985-10-15） According to the investigation done by certain departments of the Soviet Union, in Moscow, the rates of the major domestic appliances in the young people's families were: washing machine 65%, vacuum cleaner 70%, and fridge 100%. (*Is It Really A Good Remedy to "Guarantee One From Two"?*; Guo chu Yao; 1985-10-15)
187. ....，我们生活在这个革命大**家庭**里很满意，.....。（北京日报；1987-12-26） ..... We are satisfied about living in this revolutionary big family..... (*Beijing Daily*; 1987-12-26)
188. 逼着你乖乖的做一个**家庭**里的主妇！（《上海屋檐下》；夏衍；1985-12-1） (It) forced you to become a good housewife in a family! (*Under the Roof of Shanghai*; Yan Xia; 1985-12-1)
189. 我又问：“你觉得如果是一个美满的**家庭**，第三者是插不进的？”（《写作·爱情·婚姻》；舒非；1987-6-10） I asked again: "You think that if it is a perfect family, the third lover will not step into it?" (*Writing, Love and Marriage*; Fei Shu; 1987-6-10)
190. 肖像的最初的轮廓，是在浙江金华畈田蒋村的一个地主**家庭**里留下的.....（《少年艾青》；徐刚；1983-4-10） The outline of the portrait was kept in a landlord's family in the Fantianjiang village of Jinhua, Zhejiang Province. (*Young Aiqing*; Gang Xu; 1983-4-10)
191. 应该说，**家庭生活**并不仅仅就是“过日子”，**家庭**中必须有爱情。（《爱情必须时时更新、生长、创造》；笑冬；1981-5-26） It should be said that family life is not only about living, and there must be love in a family. (*Love Needs to Refresh, Grow and Create*; Dong Xiao; 1981-5-26)
192. ....，一些双职工**家庭**，特别是夫妻双方都是知识分子的**家庭**中，家务确实是一个不小的拖累，往往会同事业发生矛盾。（《“二保一”果真是一剂良药吗？》；姚国础；1985-10-15） .....In some

families of working couples, especially both of them are intellectuals, housework is indeed a big burden, and usually arises contradictions with their careers. (*Is It Really A Good Remedy to "Guarantee One From Two"?*; Guo chu Yao; 1985-10-15)

193. 而在各民族的大家庭中,又必须经常反对大民族主义和狭隘民族主义的倾向,……。 (《马克思民族理论与中国民族问题》; 彭英明; 1988-7-1) But in the big multiracial family, the tendency of chauvinism and narrow nationalism should be opposed frequently..... (*Marxist Theories of Nationalities and Chinese Ethnic Problems*; Ying ming Peng; 1988-7-1)
194. 在每个共产制的基诺族大家庭里,要由家长主持尝新仪式..... (《中国少数民族宗教》; 宋思常; 1985-3-1) In every communist big family of the Jino ethnic minority, the leader of the family takes charge of the festival ceremony of Tasting Fresh Delicacy..... (*The Religions of Chinese Minorities*; Si chang Song; 1985-3-1)
195. 官僚都是由贵族家庭选出的,西藏地方政府最高官四个噶伦,是从十七家大贵族中选出的,其余出于较小的贵族之家。 (《西藏社会性质的分析》; 束世; 1959-6-10) Bureaucrats were all chosen by noble families. The four Galoins who were the highest officials in the local Tibet government were chosen out of 17 big noble families, while the other bureaucrats were chosen out of smaller noble families. (*Analysis about the Nature of Tibetan Society*; Shi Shu; 1959-6-10)
196. 只有在一定社会生产关系基础上,才能从家庭的外在与内在社会关系上抓住家庭的本质。 (《教育社会学概论》; 裴时英; 1990-5-1) Only based on certain social relations of production can we grasp the nature of family from the family's internal and external social relations. (*An Introduction of Educational Sociology*; Shi ying Pei; 1990-5-1)
197. “在中国,我感觉到兄弟般的情谊,感觉到我是人类大家庭中的一分子。” (《中华人民共和国公民的基本权利和义务》; 杨仕南; 1955-9-1) “In China, I have felt the friendship of brotherhood, and I have sensed that I am a member of the big family of human beings.” (*The Basic Rights and Duties of the Citizens of the People's Republic of China*; Shi nan Yang; 1955-9-1)
198. “家的铁笼”把那不可一世的英雄的野性驯伏了,……。 (《爱的教育》; 曹聚仁; 1937-6-10) “The iron cage of family” tamed the wild nature of the imperious hero..... (*The Education of Love*; Ju ren Cao; 1937-6-10)
199. 封建制度下的妇女是家庭的奴隶,所以我们妇女应当奋斗,跳出家庭的樊笼,但一经走出,却变成别人的舞伴,这离开我们的理想,实在太远了。 (《职业女子的彷徨》; 健仪; 1939-10-16) Under the feudal system, women are slaves of families, so we as women should struggle to jump out of the family cage. However, once we are out, we become other people's dancing partners, which is too far away from our ideals. (*The Hesitation of the Working Women*; Yi Jian; 1939-10-16)
200. 她这个“家”是个填不满的无底洞。 (《新风霞回忆录》; 新风霞; 1980-10-1) Her family was a bottomless hole. (*The Memoirs of Fengxia Xin*; Feng xia Xin; 1980-10-1)
201. 我家是个大坑,……。 (《刘介梅》; 许伯然; 1958-7-1) My family is a big hole ..... (*Jiemei Liu*; Bo ran Xu; 1958-7-1)



202. 父母是子女的第一任老师，**家庭**是孩子成长的摇篮，.....。 (《教育社会学概论》；裴时英; 1990-5-1)  
Parents are the first teachers to children, and family is the cradle of their growth. (*An Introduction of Educational Sociology*; Shi ying Pei; 1990-5-1)
203. **家庭**是儿童的第一个学校，父母是子女的第一个老师，.....。 (《生活教育理论》；胡国枢; 1991-8-1)  
Family is the first school for children, and parents are the first teachers..... (*Theory of Life Education*; Guo shu Hu; 1991-8-1)
204. 如果过早地结婚，忙于操持家务、抚育子女等等实际问题，很容易把自己束缚在狭窄的小**家庭**圈子里，.....。 (《婚姻法讲话》；周家清; 1964-4-1) If married too early, (people) are easily bound into the narrow circle of the small family by practical issues of house chores and child rearing..... (*Talks about Marriage Law*; Jia qing Zhou; 1964-4-1)
205. 第一，婆媳双方都要摆正自己在**家庭**的位置。 (《社会学基础》；叶丽, 李星万; 1987-1-1) First, mother-in-laws and wives should put their positions correctly in the family. (*Basic Sociology*; Li Ye, Xing wan Li; 1987-1-1)
206. 这就构成了他在这个**家**的特殊地位。 (《让热闹“热闹”起来》；梁冠华; 1987-4-1) It constituted his special status at this family. (*Let jollification Become Alive*; Guan hua Liang; 1987-4-1)
207. 获得了婚姻自由和**家庭**平等地位的妇女，积极地参加了各种社会改革运动和农村各项经济建设工作。 (《我国公民的基本权利和义务》；李光灿; 1955-6-1) The women who received freedom of marriage and the equal family status actively took part in various social reforms and rural economic constructions. (*The Basic Rights and Duties of Our Citizens*; Guang can Li, 1955-6-1)
208. 各自离开了**家**，辛苦创造的**家**，若干年来心血的栖枝，巢破了，已无枝可依，.....。 (《苏北的桃源》；丁谛; 1939-3-20) (They) left families respectively, which were created with efforts, a resting twig of painstaking care over many years. Now that the nest was broken, and there was no twig to rest upon..... (*The Fairyland in Northern Jiangsu*; Di Ding; 1939-3-20)
209. 新**家庭**呢，真如你来信所说的巢窟，是在里边存身，睡觉，同禽兽一样的巢窟而已。 (《倪焕之》；叶绍钧; 1939-1-7) The new family was exactly a nest as what had said in the letter. It was just the same nest as those of animals, where you could live and sleep inside. (*Huanzhi Ni*; Shao jun Ye; 1939-1-7)
210. ...., 各种各样的社会矛盾，必然会直接间接地反映到**家庭**中来。 (《思想政治工程学》；徐昶, 单荣范, 王传遂; 1986-6-1) .... Various social conflicts will inevitably reflect into family directly or indirectly. (*The Engineering of the Ideological and Political Work*; Chang Xu, Rong fan Shan, Chuan sui Wang; 1986-6-1)
211. 小**家庭**中不论有几个孩子，未婚前都只能随父母的火塘而居，火塘成为维系这个小**家庭**的纽带。 (《中国人的消费风俗》；国世平, 袁铁坚, 杜平; 1991-1-1) No matter how many children a small family has, they have to follow the fireplace of their parents to live, which becomes the tie to maintain this small family. (*The Consumption Customs of Chinese People*; Shi ping Guo, Tie jian Yuan, Ping Du; 1991-1-1)

212. 家庭也就是社会，家务劳动也就是社会劳动， .....。 (《家庭学概论》；高健生，刘宁；1986-7-1)  
Family is a society, and housework is social work..... (An Introduction to Family Studies; Jian sheng Gao, Ning Liu; 1986-7-1)
213. 因着这小东西的到来，我们那寂寞的小家庭，以后将充满生气。 (《崇高的母性》；黎烈文；1987-2-1)  
Our lonely small family will be full of vitality in the future because of the arrival of the small baby.  
(The Lofty Maternity; Lie wen Li; 1987-2-1)

## Appendix 5: The linguistic examples of FAMILY IS A BUILDING metaphor in the Modern Chinese Corpus

1. 依据《家庭法》的规定,政府发放贷款帮助新婚夫妇建立家庭,对产前、产后的孕妇给予津贴。 (《当代中国的人口》; 1988-2-1) According to the Family Law, the government grants loans to help newly-weds to establish families, and provides allowances to the pregnant women before and after childbirth. (*The Population of Modern China*; 1988-2-1)
2. 有的青年认为: 早点结婚成立小家庭是一种“幸福”, ..... (《婚姻法讲话》; 周家清; 1964-4-1) Some young people thought that getting married early and setting up small families are a kind of happiness. .... (*Talks about Marriage Law*; Jia qing Zhou; 1964-4-1)
3. 三年了, 还没有组建新家庭。 (《实用心理学全书》; 刘飞茂, 成志伟; 1988-1-1) Three years has passed, and (they) still have not organized and built up a new family. (*Practical Psychology*; Fei mao Liu, Zhi wei Cheng; 1988-1-1)
4. 在这一时期, 绝大多数人已建立了家庭, 进入了社会, ..... (《美育原理》; 仇春霖; 1988-9-1) During this time, most of them have established their families and entered into the society..... (*Principles of Aesthetic Education*; Chun lin Qiu; 1988-9-1)
5. 亮子都二十五岁了, 他就不急着成个家吗? (《月偏食》; 王家勇; 1983-3-1) Liangzi has already been 25 years old. Isn't he in a hurry to set up a family? (*Partial Lunar Eclipse*; Jia yong Wang; 1983-3-1)
6. ...., 日子也一天天的好过了, 总该成个家了..... (《月偏食》; 王家勇; 1983-3-1) .... Now that the life is better day after day, it is time to set up a family..... (*Partial Lunar Eclipse*; Jia yong Wang; 1983-3-1)
7. 他在这里找到了理想的伴侣, 建立了美满幸福的小家庭。 (《春风得意》; 刘彦林; 1983-8-1) He has found an ideal mate and established a satisfactory, happy, small family. (*The Spring Breeze Has Obtained Its Wish*; Yan lin Liu; 1983-8-1)
8. 更有一大批干部, 陆续成了家, ..... (《染血的土地》; 冯德英; 1986-10-1) There was a large group of cadres who set up families one after another..... (*The Bloodstained Soil*; De ying Feng; 1986-10-1)
9. 在她心目中, 丈夫取代了父亲的位置, 就等于建立了新的家庭。 (《青春只有一次》; 杨镰; 1985-11-1) In her mind, her husband took the place of her father, which equaled to establish a new family. (*Youth Comes But Once in a Lifetime*; Lian Yang; 1985-11-1)
10. 苏维埃真不该让你娶了老婆成了家! (《梅岭星火》; 绍武, 会林; 1978-11-1) Soviet should not let you marry a wife and set up a family! (*Sparks on the Meilin Mountain*; Wu Shao, Lin Hui; 1978-11-1)
11. 家, 就这样建成了。 (《小凉山勘查记》; 吴白果; 1960-4-16) Family was built up like this. (*Perambulation of the Small Liang Mountain*; Bai guo Wu; 1960-4-16)

12. 女王讲得最详细的是, 这个大家庭是怎样建立起来的.....。 (《神秘的蚂蚁国》; 孙幼忱; 1982-1-1)  
The queen talked in great detail about how this big family was established..... (*The Mysterious Kingdom of the Ants*; You chen Sun; 1982-1-1)
13. 水山呐, 听哥的话还是赶紧成个家吧! (《迎春花》; 翟剑萍; 1964-6-1) Shuishan, Listen to the brother's words and set up a family quickly! (*The Primroses*; Jian ping Di; 1964-6-1)
14. “沙来巴依给他长工成了家; .....!” (《财主与长工》; 赛福鼎; 1956-4-1) “Shalaibay help his farmhands to set up families; .....!” (*Rich Men and Farmhands*; Fu ding Sai; 1956-4-1)
15. 恋爱以终身相爱建立家庭为目的, .....。 (《妇女学概论》; 贺正时, 刘红姣; 1987-2-1) Fall in love with a purpose of being in love for the whole lifetime and establishing a family..... (*An Introduction on Women Studies*; Zheng shi He, Hong jiao Liu; 1987-2-1)
16. 建立民主、和睦、美满、幸福的社会主义家庭, .....。 (《思想政治工程学》; 徐昶, 单荣范, 王传遂; 1986-6-1) Establish democratic, harmonious, satisfactory and happy socialist families..... (*The Engineering of the Ideological and Political Work*; Chang Xu, Rong fan Shan, Chuan sui Wang; 1986-6-1)
17. 二是有利于青年的身体发育、学习和工作, 并能为建立美满和谐的家庭提供有利条件。 (《思想政治》(初中三年级全一册); 1992-6-1) Secondly, it is beneficial to the growth of the young people's body, their study and work, and also provides a favorable condition for the establishment of a satisfactory and happy family. (*Ideological and Political Work (for the third year students in middle schools)*; 1992-6-1)
18. ....., 也为建立美满和谐家庭、对子女的抚养教育奠定了基础..... (《思想政治》(初中三年级全一册); 1992-6-1) ..... (It) also provide a foundation for the establishment a satisfactory and happy family, children rearing and education. (*Ideological and Political Work (for the third year students in middle schools)*; 1992-6-1)
19. 上述三点是建立和发展社会主义民主和睦家庭的重要原则。 (《法学教程》; 李思政; 1984-4-1) The three points mentioned above are important principles to establish and develop socialist democratic and harmonious families. (*A Course in Law*; Si zheng Li; 1984-4-1)
20. ....., 并使双方有可能重新建立幸福美满的家庭。 (《法学教程》; 李思政; 1984-4-1) ..... Make the both parties have possibility to establish a satisfactory and happy family again. (*A Course in Law*; Si zheng Li; 1984-4-1)
21. ....., 建立民主和睦的家庭, 提倡共产主义道德, .....。 (《法学教程》; 李思政; 1984-4-1) ..... Establish democratic, harmonious families and promote communist morality..... (*A Course in Law*; Si zheng Li; 1984-4-1)
22. 只有实现离婚自由, 才能保障所有男女都能建立民主和睦、团结幸福的家庭。 (《法学教程》; 李思政; 1984-4-1) Only through the realization of the divorce freedom can guarantee that all men and women are able to establish democratic, harmonious, united and happy families. (*A Course in Law*; Si zheng Li; 1984-4-1)
23. 这种建立在社会主义公有制基础上的社会主义新家庭, 是有史以来家庭发展的最高形态。 (《中国

- 宏观社会学》；程继隆；1990-11-1) This kind of socialist new family established on the basis of socialist public ownership is the highest form of family in its development over history. (*Chinese Macro Sociology*; Ji long Cheng; 1990-11-1)
24. 有的互相通婚，建立和睦的家庭。（《盘村瑶族》；胡起望，范宏贵；1983-2-1) Some of them intermarry with each other and establish harmonious families. (*The Yao Nationality in Pan Village*; Qi wang Hu, Hong gui Fan; 1983-2-1)
25. 我国的婚姻家庭制度能使我国人民在婚姻自由、男女平等的基础上建立幸福家庭的愿望得到满足。（《社会主义社会学》；高平；1991-7-1) The system of marriage and family in our country can satisfy our people's wish of establishing happy families on the basis of free marriage and equal status between men and women. (*Socialist Sociology*; Ping Gao; 1991-7-1)
26. 这象征着他们即将建立的家庭是牢不可破的。（《爱琴海的珍珠》；韩红；1990-8-1) It symbolizes that their family established soon will be stable and unbreakable. (*The Pearl of Aegean Sea*; Hong Han; 1990-8-1)
27. 他一气之下便离家出走到了大阪，不久便和贞子另立家庭。（《谁给了我们创造英雄形象的信心和毅力？》；张良；1956-3-16) He left home out of anger and went to Osaka, and soon set up another family with Sadako. (*Who Gives Us Confidence and Willpower to Create the Images of Heroes?*; Liang Zhang; 1956-3-16)
28. 来团委的四年里，她建了小家，生了儿子，……（《“现在，这里，就是学习的最好条件”》；赵艳；1982-3-11) In the four years when she was in the Youth League Committee, she built up a small family and gave birth to a son…… (*Now, Here are the Best Conditions to Study*; Yan Zhao; 1982-3-11)
29. 我们常想，这是家庭基本建设，多花点钱也应买好的，……。 （《面对市场的诱惑》；欣文；1991-1-1) We always think that this is the basic construction of a family, and we should buy good things even we have to spend more money…… (*Facing the Temptation of the Market*; Wen Xin; 1991-1-1)

## Appendix 6: The linguistic examples of FAMILY IS A PERSON metaphor in the Modern Chinese Corpus

1. 而且在经济上, 于**家**于国都有利, .....。 (解放日报; 1985-9-27)      Moreover, in economy, (it is) beneficial both to the family and the country. .... (The Liberation Daily; 1985-9-27)
2. ...., 搞活了农村经济, 使国家、集体和农民**家庭**都获得了较大的利益。 (《当代大众哲学》; 雷英魁、陈扬炯; 1988-6-1)      .... The rural economy is invigorated, which made the country, the community and the farmers' families all gained comparatively big benefits. (The Contemporary Popular Philosophy; Ying kui Lei, Yang jiong Chen; 1988-6-1)
3. ...., 也符合个人和**家庭**的利益, .....。 (《思想政治》(初中三年级全一册); 1992-6-1)      .... (It) also corresponds to the benefits of the individuals and families..... (Politics (for junior middle school students); 1992-6-1)
4. 只有这样的婚姻关系才是合乎道德而又稳固持久的, 也才是有益于**家庭**和社会的。 (《法学教程》; 李思政; 1984-4-1)      Only such marriage is moral and stable, and beneficial to families and the society. (A Course in Law; Si zheng Li; 1984-4-1)
5. 在社会主义社会, **家庭**与社会利益是一致的, .....。 (《教育社会学概论》; 裴时英; 1990-5-1)      In socialist society, the benefits of families and the society are concordant ..... (An Introduction of Educational Sociology; Shi ying Pei; 1990-5-1)
6. ...., 而且也关系到子女、**家庭**和社会的利益。 (《贯彻执行新婚姻法的一个重要问题》; 1981-1-15)      .... (It) also concerns the interests of children, family and the society. (An Important Issue in the Implementation of the New Marriage Law; 1981-1-15)
7. 我相信魔盒将会给人们、**家庭**、社会带来好处的。 (《魔盒》; 钱欣葆; 1987-5-1)      I believe the magic box will bring benefits to people, families and the society. (The Magic Box; Xin bao Qian; 1987-5-1)
8. ...., 而且对子女、**家庭**和社会也都是有害而无益的。 (《法学教程》; 李思政; 1984-4-1)      .... (It is) also harmful rather than beneficial to children, families and the society. (A Course in Law; Si zheng Li; 1984-4-1)
9. ...., 军分区、人武部, 应当帮军人**家庭**之所需, .....。 (人民日报; 1991-9-4)      .... Military subareas and Peoples armed force should help what a soldier's family really needs. .... (China People's Daily; 1991-9-4)
10. ...., 在自己**家庭**经营不了的情况下, 实行各种形式的合作, .....。 (人民日报; 1983-7-12)      .... Different forms of cooperation are carried out under the circumstances of not being able to operate business by (their) own families. (China People's Daily; 1983-7-12)
11. 希望全国的幼儿园、学校、少先队、**家庭**和社会各方面积极主动地紧密配合, 充分发挥自己的作用。 (天津日报; 1982-8-6)      Hope the kindergartens, schools, the Young Pioneers, families nationwide and every aspect of the society will take the initiative to cooperate actively and closely to bring each other's

functions into full play. (*Tianjin Daily*; 1982-8-6)

12. 培养良好的性格品质, 需要**家庭**、学校和社会各方面配合进行, ..... (《小学儿童心理学》; 胡德辉; 1983-6-1) To foster good character needs the cooperation of the families, the schools and every aspect of the society..... (*Primary School Children Psychology*; De hui Hu; 1983-6-1)
13. ...., 使学校、**家庭**对学生的教育影响协调一致, 相互配合。 (《教育学》; 集体; 1982-4-1)  
..... to make the schools and the families exert harmonious, coherent effects on the education of the students, and cooperate with each other. (*Education*; Ti Ji; 1982-4-1)
14. 两**家**在暗中竞赛呢! (人民日报; 1983-7-12)  
Two families are competing in secret! (*China People's Daily*; 1983-7-12)
15. **家庭**坚持要求小孩担负与其年龄、性别和能力不相称的角色。 (解放军报; 1991-6-22)  
Families persistently demand their children to shoulder up a role that does not match their age, gender and capability. (*Liberation Army Daily*; 1991-6-22)
16. 造成上述矛盾现象, 主要是由于学校和**家庭**对学生要求的不一致。 (《心理学》; 韩永昌; 1990-2-1)  
The reason for the contradictory phenomenon mentioned above is due to the inconsistency in the demands on the students between the school and the families. (*Psychology*; Yong chang Han; 1990-2-1)
17. ...., 正是封建社会**家庭**群体对文化的一种要求。 (《文化社会学》; 司马云杰; 1987-3-1)  
..... (It is) the demand of the group of families for culture in a feudal society. (*Cultural Sociology*; Yun jie Sima; 1987-3-1)
18. 在校外, 学校、**家庭**和社会, 对学生的要求也要一致和连贯。 (《教育学》; 集体; 1982-4-1)  
Outside the school, the demands on the students from the school, families and the society should be consistent and coherent. (*Education*; Ti Ji; 1982-4-1)
19. 有时学校和**家庭**对学生的教育影响不统一, 往往是由于学校和**家庭**对学生的教育有不同的认识和要求造成的, 所以, 应当互通情报, 交换意见。 (《教育学》; 集体; 1982-4-1) Sometimes, the schools and the families have disunity in their effects on students' education, which is usually resulted from their different understandings and demands concerning the education of the students. Therefore, the schools and the families should communicate information to each other and exchange opinions. (*Education*; Ti Ji; 1982-4-1)
20. 至于社会、**家庭**和学校, 在祝贺高考被录取学生的同时, 更应多关心落榜学生的处境, 理解他们、同情他们, 引导他们, 帮助他们接受挫折的心理考验, 千万不要嘲笑他们, 挖苦他们, 另眼看待他们, 有意无意地给他们施加各种精神压力。 (羊城晚报; 1987-7-29) As far as the society, families and schools are concerned, except for sending congratulations to the students who are enrolled into universities, they should at the same time pay more attention to the situation of those students who failed the college entrance exam. They should understand and sympathize with them. They should lead and help them to accept the mental test of frustrations. Do not laugh or mock at them, or treat them differently so that various mental pressures are exerted over them consciously or unconsciously. (*Yangcheng Evening News*; 1987-7-29)

21. 中国人民因为特别注重亲亲,所以形成了**家庭**和家族的团结,而民族的意识却比较薄弱。(《中华民族眼里的基督》;徐松石;1948-7-1) Chinese people pay special attention to relatives; therefore, they form a unity of families and clans, but have a comparatively weaker sense of nationality. (*Jesus in the Eyes of Chinese People*; Song shi Xu; 1948-7-1)
22. 由于李是在**家庭**强制包办下与任结婚的,……。 (《刑法各论》;1985-6-1) Miss Li married Ren under the family's forceful arrangement..... (*Discussions on Penal Code*; 1985-6-1)
23. 许多农村中的旧式**家庭**也得到了改造,男女平等代替了"夫权"和封建**家庭**的统治。(《我国公民的基本权利和义务》;李光灿;1955-6-1) Many old-fashioned families in the countryside have received reforms, and the equal status of men and women has taken place of the authority of the husband and the rule of the feudal families. (*The Basic Rights and Duties of Our Citizens*; Guang can Li, 1955-6-1)
24. …….,这种**家庭**的思想统治与封建社会的长期缓慢发展,有着内在关系。(《青年社会学》;费穗宇,穆宪;1987-7-1) ..... Such mental rule of the family has an inner relation with the long slow development of feudal society. (*Sociology for Youth*; Sui yu Fei, Xian Mu; 1987-7-1)
25. 封建**家庭**的生产与教育方式,使青年的劳动基本上沿袭"子承父业"的模式。(《青年社会学》;费穗宇,穆宪;1987-7-1) The style of education and production of the feudal families makes the young people follow the pattern of taking over the father's career. (*Sociology for Youth*; Sui yu Fei, Xian Mu; 1987-7-1)
26. 你的**家庭**是怎么教育你的,……? (《自白》;龙应台;1989-2-6) How did your family educate you.....? (*Confession*; Ying tai Long; 1989-2-6)
27. …….,但像他们这样的**家庭**,教育子女的办法一般都是自设私塾,……。 (《韬奋》;穆欣;1962-9-1) .....The usual education method of families like theirs was to establish a home school with a private tutor..... (*Tao Fen*; Xin Mu; 1962-9-1)
28. 一个热心于教育的**家庭**,施加良好的**家庭**教育的措施,可能加速儿童心理的发展,……。 (《儿童心理学史》;林崇德;1988-10-1) A family who is enthusiastic to education and takes good measures in family education will speed up the mental development of the children..... (*History of Children Psychology*; Chong de Lin; 1988-10-1)
29. 因此,多数**家庭**对年轻子女的管教是十分严格的。(《青年社会学》;费穗宇,穆宪;1987-7-1) Therefore, most of the families discipline their young children very strictly. (*Sociology for Youth*; Sui yu Fei, Xian Mu; 1987-7-1)
30. 法西斯的妇女的教育,应为『准备妇女使之为新时代贤德的未来母亲,使之为**家庭**中完美的主妇,……这样,不但**家庭**藉着她的更生的能力(regenerative powers)而得进步,即国家亦因而强盛』。(《西洋教育史》;林汉达;1947-10-1) Fascist women education should be preparing women to be the future virtuous mothers for the new times, and to make them the perfect housewives in the families..... In this way, not only families will progress by means of her regenerative powers, but also the country will proper because of it, too. (*The History of Western Education*; Han da Lin; 1947-10-1)
31. 是他们时时提醒她的**家庭**所处的阶级地位。(《隐形伴侣》;张抗抗;1986-12-1) It is them who



- always remind her of her family's social class status. (*Invisible Partner*; Kang kang Zhang, 1986-12-1)
32. 郭叔叔骂了我爸爸一顿, 说孩子不是家庭的私有财产, .....。 (《公开的情书》; 靳凡; 1981-2-1)  
Uncle Wu scolded my father that a child was not the private property of a family..... (*A Public Love Letter*; Fan Jin; 1981-2-1)
33. ...., 这个家庭孕育的, 已不再是和顺, .....。 (《晴雨黄山寄情录》; 梅汝恺; 1987-3-1)  
..... This family was not pregnant with harmony any more..... (*Placing Feelings on the Sun, the Rain and Huang Mountain*; Ru kai Mei; 1987-3-1)
34. 对话是家庭的脉搏。 (《有一对年轻夫妇》; 朱立德; 1982-7-1)  
Dialogue is the pulse of a family. (*There Is a Young Couple*; Li de Zhu; 1982-7-1)
35. 素婷本人是很好的同志, 可坏在她的反动家庭手里.....玉冬的家庭是革命的, 光荣的, ..... (《染血的土地》; 冯德英; 1986-10-1) Su ting herself is a good comrade, but things turn bad in the hands of her reactionary family..... Yu dong's family is revolutionary and honorable..... (*The Bloodstained Soil*; De ying Feng; 1986-10-1)
36. ...., 这一家仍然是过去那个正直、勤劳的家庭。 (《春天到了鸭绿江》; 雷加; 1954-9-1)  
..... This family is still the upright and hardworking family as before. (*The Spring Arrives the Yalu River*; Jia Lei; 1954-9-1)
37. ...., 十五年过去了, 社会与家庭为什么对他仍是这样无情? (《桃李行》; 郑秉谦; 1981-5-1)  
..... Fifteen years has passed. Why the society and the family still are merciless to him? (*The Peach and the Plum*; Bing qian Zheng; 1981-5-1)
38. 集中表现了工人阶级家庭大公无私, 博大胸怀, ..... (《看“渴望”》; 王决, 陈连升; 1991-7-15)  
(It) focused on the demonstration of the selflessness and the broad mind of the working class families..... (*Review on "Aspiration"*; Jue Wang, Lian sheng Chen; 1991-7-15)
39. 而家庭是不是越来越具有独立意识了呢? (《独立意识悄悄走进家庭》; 霍纲; 1992-10-1)  
Are families more aware of independence? (*The Awareness of Independence Quietly Enter into Families*; Gang Huo; 1992-10-1)
40. ...., 农民家庭不仅具有生产生活功能, 也具有重要的教育功能, ...., 通过改善家庭的文明风貌, 全面提高农民的思想道德素质。 (《农村社会主义精神文明建设的一种好形式》; 秦树理; 1990-9-1) ..... Farmers' families not only have the function of production and living, but also have important function of education. ....to improve the ideological and ethical standards of the farmers through the improvement of families' civilized features. (*A Good Form to Construct the Spiritual Civilization in Rural Areas*; Shu li Qin; 1990-9-1)
41. 而一个较为保守的家庭更多地是鼓励孩子们成为传统的角色。 (《妇女心理学》; 陈元晖; 1987-4-1)  
But a comparatively conservative family will encourage the children more to become the traditional roles. (*Women Psychology*; Yuan hui Chen; 1987-4-1)
42. 这些与革命家庭来往的干部逐渐地少了, .....。 (《染血的土地》; 冯德英; 1986-10-1)

These cadres who have intimate relations with revolutionary families gradually reduce in number..... (*The Bloodstained Soil*; De ying Feng; 1986-10-1)

43. ...., 学校与**家庭**之间的互相联系和交往, ..... (《学校体育学》; 集体; 1991-1-1) ..... the relations and contact between the school and the families..... (*Physical Education*; Ti Ji; 1991-1-1)
44. 我们还要注意与青年的**家庭**取得联系, ..... (《在农村中应如何关心青年「长身体」》; 1954-2-16)  
We have to pay attention to have close relations with young people's families..... (*How to Care about Young People's Body Growth in the countryside*; 1954-2-16)
45. 班主任为了做好教育工作, 必须和学生的**家庭**取得密切联系, ..... (《教育概论》; 徐国紫; 1986-11-1) A teacher in charge of a class must contact closely with students' families in order to educate well..... (*An Introduction of Education*; Guo qi Xu; 1986-11-1)
46. ...., 「会享受的一个**家庭**」, ..... (《无声的歌女》; 凤子; 1946-5-1)  
..... "a family good at enjoyment", ..... (*The Silent Singing Girl*; Zi Feng; 1946-5-1)
47. 平静的**家庭**, 偶然大哭大骂起来, 立刻惊动了隔壁的邻舍。 (《浓烟》; 林参天; 1936-7-1)  
The peaceful family suddenly burst into crying and cursing, which immediately startled the neighbors. (*The Heavy Smog*; Can tian Lin; 1936-7-1)
48. 我冲出这个封建的牢笼, 也是抱了完全跟**家庭**破裂的决心。 (《刑场上的婚礼》; 陈立德; 1979-3-1)  
I broke out of the feudal cage, together with a determination to break up completely with the family. (*The Wedding on the Execution Ground*; Li de Chen; 1979-3-1)
49. 我年轻时就表示过要和**家庭**决裂。 (《建立社会主义的家庭教育学》; 余心言; 1982-4-20)  
When I was young, I had expressed my wish to break up with the family. (*Construction of the Socialist Family Education*; Xin yan Yu; 1982-4-20)
50. “**家**”曾经拖住了我的一棵抑郁的心。 (《静》; 萧菱; 1941-4-5)  
Family once dragged my depressed heart. (*Tranquility*; Ling Xiao; 1941-4-5)
51. 他的**家庭**究竟是限制了还是助长了他的生活呢? (《黎明》; 方敬; 1936-10-1)  
His family indeed restricts or helps his life? (*The Dawn*; Jing Fang; 1936-10-1)
52. ...., 我的在乡下的**家**更盼切的等待着我。 (《县城风光》; 何其芳; 1936-12-1)  
..... My family that lives in the countryside is more eagerly waiting for my return. (*The County Scenery*; Qi fang He; 1936-12-1)
53. 封建制度下的妇女是**家庭**的奴隶, 所以我们妇女应当奋斗, 跳出**家庭**的樊笼, 但一经走出, 却变成别人的舞伴, 这离开我们的理想, 实在太远了。 (《职业女子的徬徨》; 健仪; 1939-10-16) Under the feudal system, women are slaves of families, so we as women should struggle to jump out of the family cage. However, once we are out, we become other people's dancing partners, which is too far away from our ideals. (*The Hesitation of the Working Women*; Yi Jian; 1939-10-16)
54. 其次, 妇女成了**家庭**的奴隶。 (《妇女学概论》; 贺正时, 刘红姣; 1987-2-1)

- Secondly, women become the slaves of families. (An Introduction on Women Studies; Zheng shi He, Hong jiao Liu; 1987-2-1)
55. ...., 而且各个**家庭**也拥有畜群、金属器具、奢侈品和奴隶。 (《商业经济学概论》; 张魁峰; 1984-4-1) ..... Moreover, each family also possessed cattle, mental wares, luxury things and slaves. (An Introduction on Business Economy; Kui feng Zhang; 1984-4-1)
56. ...., 而这个**家庭**又确实给了她不少毛病。 (《从御妹到平民》; 凌冰; 1988-3-1)  
..... This family indeed gives her a lot of bad habits. (From a Noble Girl to a Common People; Bing Ling; 1988-3-1)
57. **家庭**的姑息纵容, .... (《“二熊”伏法记》; 薛家柱, 钟高渊, 沈治平; 1980-5-15)  
The indulgence and tolerance of the family.... (The Execution of the “Double Xiong”; Jia zhu Xue, Gao yuan Zhong, Zhi ping Shen; 1980-5-15)
58. ...., **家庭**常受到被债主强迫交息的威胁, ..... (《中国现代作家小传》; 1961-1-1)  
..... The family is usually under the threat of the creditors to pay back interests by force..... (Biography of Modern Chinese Writers; 1961-1-1)
59. 这个本当和睦美满的**家庭**, 在“越穷越革命”的年月里, 被寅吃卯粮、捉襟见肘的日子拖得疲惫不堪, 口角不断。 (《希望之星》; 杨炳山, 孙维中; 1984-11-3) This originally harmonious, happy family was dragged into exhaustion and continuous quarrels by deficit spending and poor life in the times of “the poorer, the more revolutions”. (The Star of Hope; Bing shan Yang, Wei zhong Sun; 1984-11-3)
60. 他的**家庭**并没有给他多少艺术的熏陶。 (《啊, 韩美林》; 胡思升; 1980-8-1)  
His family did not give him much nurturance of art. (Ah, Meilin Han; Si sheng Hu; 1980-8-1)
61. 王雪梅的全部不幸、痛苦, 以及最后那种结局, 公道说, 都是由**家庭**和周围许多人“制造”出来的! (《野猫山悲歌》; 牧笛; 1987-3-5) To be fair, all of the misfortune, agony and such a final ending of Xue-mei Wang are produced by the family and many people around her. (The Sad Songs of the Wild Cat Hill; Di Mu; 1987-3-5)
62. **家庭**一定要注意为孩子创造形成良好心理的环境, 并进行良好的教育。 (《妇女学概论》; 贺正时, 刘红姣; 1987-2-1) Families must pay attention to create an environment for children to develop good mentality, and educate them well. (An Introduction of Women Studies; Zheng shi He, Hong jiao Liu; 1987-2-1)
63. ...., **家庭**在长期的内在矛盾运动中产生一个新因素, ..... (《中国宏观社会学》; 程继隆; 1990-11-1) ..... Families produce a new element in the long period of contradictions ..... (Chinese Macro Sociology; Ji long Cheng; 1990-11-1)
64. 有许多单位和**家庭**把百分之八十的伙食费都花在主食方面, ..... (《漫谈粗粮和细粮》; 高士其; 1984-10-1) Many working units and families spend 80% of the food expenses on staple food..... (Discussions on the Fine and Coarse Grain Foods; Shi qi Gao; 1984-10-1)
65. 你**家庭**虽然破产了, 总还有些田地, 还有个母亲, .....! (《狂欢之夜》; 于伶; 1940-1-1)

Although your family is bankrupt, you still have some fields and your mother....! (*The Carnival Night*; Ling Yu; 1940-1-1)

66. 家庭破产, ..... (《狂欢之夜》; 于伶; 1940-1-1)  
The family is bankrupt ..... (*The Carnival Night*; Ling Yu; 1940-1-1)
67. ...., 我一生六十年, 看到一个人, 一个家, 一个团体, 一个国家, 都是开始很艰难困苦, 死里逃生, 所以聚精会神, 没有一事不用心, 没有一人不费力, 但当环境好了, 精神就逐渐放松下来, ..... (《科学社会主义概论》; 郑建邦; 1986-2-1) ..... In my sixty years of life, I can see any person, a family, a group or a country was at first in hardships and survived death, therefore, focused on everything and spared no effort. But, when the environment was better, the spirit gradually relaxed ..... (*An Introduction of Scientific Socialism*; Jian Bang Zheng; 1986-2-1)
68. ...., 家庭迁移时, 常有把老家的火种点燃好带上, ..... (《神秘的萨满世界》; 乌丙安; 1988-5-1) ..... When families move away, they usually take with them the lit-up kindling material from their old home..... (*The Mysterious Shaman World*; Bing an Wu; 1988-5-1)
69. ...., 为家长所管领的家产为其家庭共有, ..... (《罗马法》; 1983-2-1)  
..... The family property under the management of the family leader is possessed by his family ..... (*The Rome Law*; 1983-2-1)
70. 这些因拥有财富而本来就有势力的家庭, ..... (《中国奴隶社会史》; 金景芳; 1983-7-1)  
These originally powerful families due to their possession of wealth..... (*History of Chinese Slave Society*; Jing fang Jin; 1983-7-1)
71. ...., 一般城乡平民家庭大多也有饮茶的习惯, ..... (《中国近代社会史》; 乔志强; 1992-2-1)  
..... Most of the common citizens' families also have the habit of drinking tea..... (*History of Chinese Modern Society*; Zhi qiang Qiao; 1992-2-1)
72. 在西方国家内, 不少家庭有这样的习惯, 到了周末, 全家便会开着汽车, 带上足足的野餐食品, 去森林或海滩度假散心, ..... (《奥妙的人体语言》; 汪福祥; 1988-1-1) In western countries, a lot of families have such a habit: when the weekend comes, the whole family drive their car, take ample picnic food and go to the forest or the beach to have a holiday and enjoy a relaxation..... (*Mysterious Human Body Language*; Fu xiang Wang; 1988-1-1)
73. ...., 20 年代无线电收音机已成为许多家庭的娱乐工具, ..... (《世界历史》(初中全一册); 1989-3-1) ..... In 1920s, a wireless radio had already become a tool for entertainment for many families..... (*World History (textbook for junior middle student)*; 1989-3-1)
74. ...., 为以后小家庭的占有这些生产资料提供了方便的条件。 (《鄂伦春社会的发展》; 秋浦; 1980-10-1) .....to provide convenient conditions for small families to possess those production materials. (*The Development of Oroqen Society*; Pu Qiu; 1980-10-1)
75. ...., 这种小家庭的临时占有, ..... (《鄂伦春社会的发展》; 秋浦; 1980-10-1) ..... such temporary possession of the small families..... (*The Development of Oroqen Society*; Pu Qiu; 1980-10-1)

76. 谢益先及其一家,就是无数的受苦人和受苦家庭的一分子。(《一袋干粮的风格》;顾建国;1975-8-18)  
Yi-xian Xie and his whole family are one of the members of numerous people and families who were suffering hardships. (*The Manner of One Bag of Solid Food*; Jian guo Gu; 1975-8-18)
77. 这是家庭与幼儿园共同的责任。(《幼儿心理学》;丁祖荫;1986-6-1) This is the mutual responsibility of both families and the kindergarten. (*Child Psychology*; Zu yin Ding; 1986-6-1)
78. 因为与孩子朝夕相处的家庭此时就已开始对他或她持以不同的期望。(《妇女心理学》;陈元晖;1987-4-1) Since that time, the family who got along with the children had started to hold expectations on them. (*Women Psychology*; Yuan hui Chen; 1987-4-1)
79. 而另外三分之一的少年犯出于社会地位高和物质条件优裕的家庭以及不懂教育的家庭。(《中小学比较教育学》;商继宗;1992-2-1) Another one third of those juvenile delinquents come out of families with high social status and prosperous material wealth as well as families which are ignorant to education. (*Comparative Education in Elementary and Secondary Schools*; Ji zong Shang; 1992-2-1)
80. 因此,家庭在培养他们对社会生活的适应能力、.....。(《教育社会学概论》;裴时英;1990-5-1) Therefore, the families are cultivating their ability to adapt to the social life..... (*An Introduction of Educational Sociology*; Shi ying Pei; 1990-5-1)
81. 因为无论是哪一个家庭培养出来的孩子,都应当是这个社会主义社会的公民,.....。(《建立社会主义的家庭教育学》;余心言;1982-4-20) No matter the child was cultivated by which family, he should be a citizen in this socialist society..... (*Construction of the Socialist Family Education*; Xin yan Yu; 1982-4-20)
82. “国家、社会、学校和家庭依法保障适龄儿童、少年接受义务教育的权利。”(《教育与社会》;吴铎;1991-1-1) “The country, the society, schools and families protect children and teenagers’ rights to receive compulsory education according to the law.” (*Education and the Society*; Duo Wu; 1991-1-1)
83. 家庭对儿童过度照顾,使他们在生活中缺乏独立活动的锻炼;.....。(《教育心理学》;潘菽;1980-7-1) Families’ excessive care to the children would make them lack exercise in independent activities in daily life. (*Educational Psychology*; Shu Pan; 1980-7-1)
84. 各个家庭拥有“住房、衣服、粗糙的装饰品以及获得食物和制作食物的工具:.....。(《商业经济学概论》;张魁峰;1984-4-1) Every family possesses house, clothes, crude decoration items and the tools to get food and cook it..... (*An Introduction on Business Economy*; Kui feng Zhang; 1984-4-1)
85. ....,在部落内部各个家庭之间出现了个别的、偶然的商品交换。(《商业经济学概论》;张魁峰;1984-4-1) .... Within a tribe and between families, individual, accidental business exchanges emerged. (*An Introduction on Business Economy*; Kui feng Zhang; 1984-4-1)
86. ....、各个家庭之间偶然发生的个别的商品交换,.....。(《商业经济学概论》;张魁峰;1984-4-1) .... the individual, accidental business exchanges between families..... (*An Introduction on Business Economy*; Kui feng Zhang; 1984-4-1)
87. ....,各个家庭生产的劳动产品的相当一部分是直接为了交换。(《商业经济学概论》;张魁峰;

1984-4-1) ..... A large part of the products produced by each family were for business exchange.  
(*An Introduction on Business Economy*; Kui feng Zhang; 1984-4-1)

88. 由于有了**家庭**，有了生活资料和生产工具的个人私有制，有了相对独立的家庭劳动，其他任何人都不得无偿占有属于各个**家庭**的私有财产；由于有了暂时的分工，各个**家庭**之间偶而也需要以其所有，易其所无。（《商业经济学概论》；张魁峰；1984-4-1） Due to the existence of the families, the private ownership of the living materials and production tools and respectively individual family work, whoever else could not occupy the private property belonging to each family without compensation. Because of the temporary division of labor, every family accidentally needed to trade with each other for what they did not have. (*An Introduction on Business Economy*; Kui feng Zhang; 1984-4-1)
89. 近些年来，工业生产和**家庭**广泛使用冰柜和电冰箱，.....。（《地理》(高中上册); 1992-6-1)  
Recent years, industrious production and families have widely used freezers and fridges..... (*Geography for High Schools*); 1992-6-1)
90. ....，一位名叫罗庆美的中年妇女，因不堪忍受**家庭**的虐待上吊自尽了。（《我们就是原告》；陈大文; 1983-12-15） ..... A middle aged woman called Qing-mei Luo hanged herself because she could not bear the abuse of the family. (*We Are the Plaintiffs*; Da wen Chen; 1983-12-15)
91. 他们的**家庭**本有封地，.....。（《西藏社会性质的分析》；束世; 1959-6-10)  
Their families originally had fief..... (*The Analysis on the Nature of Tibetan Society*; Shi Shu; 1959-6-10)
92. 一个知识分子**家庭**，所能指望子女的，也就是上大学，.....（《独立意识悄悄走进家庭》；霍纲; 1992-10-1） The only thing an intellectual family can expect from their children is that they will go to universities..... (*The Awareness of Independence Quietly Enter into Families*; Gang Huo; 1992-10-1)
93. 改革、开放，使人们、使无数**家庭**逐步富裕起来，又逐渐把人们、把**家庭**投入市场。（《独立意识悄悄走进家庭》；霍纲; 1992-10-1） Reforms and the opening-up made people and numerous families gradually become rich, and then gradually put people and families on the market. (*The Awareness of Independence Quietly Enter into Families*; Gang Huo; 1992-10-1)
94. 使每个孩子，尤其是遗传素质较差的孩子都能得到**家庭**、社会和集体的温暖与爱护，.....。（《青年“病态人格”种种》；孙晓明; 1985-5-1） .....to make every child, especially children without good heredodiatheis can receive the warmth and care of the families, the society and the community..... (*The Various Morbid Personalities of the Youth*; Xiao ming Sun; 1985-5-1)
95. 通常先由男方**家庭**托人提亲，如果女方**家庭**同意，便会开出准备陪嫁的物品和清单；双方**家庭**就嫁妆进行仔细的磋商，一经达成协议，清单便由双方签字、经当地牧师签署生效。（《爱琴海的珍珠》；韩红; 1990-8-1） Usually the man's family will first trust somebody to propose a marriage. If the woman's family agrees, a list of dowry will be made and discussed carefully. Once an agreement is reached, the list will be signed by both families and the local priest to become effective. (*The Pearl of Aegean Sea*; Hong Han; 1990-8-1)
96. 在旧社会，所有这些**家庭**还不都是祖祖辈辈受着三座大山的压迫和剥削，.....？（《一袋干粮的风格》；顾建国; 1975-8-18） In the old society, all these families were under the oppression exploitation of the three mountains generation after generation.....? (*The Manner of One Bag of Solid*

97. “……，自然够小家庭开销，……。” (《茅盾的母亲》; 傅书松; 1987-11-1) “…… (It) is naturally enough for a small family to spend …… (The Mother of Dun Mao; Shu song Fu; 1987-11-1)
98. “但是你的家庭也要开支。” (《我的伯父陈嘉庚》; 陈共存; 1985-8-10) “But your family also needs to pay expenses.” (My Uncle Jiageng Chen; Gong cun Chen; 1985-8-10)
99. 回答祖国人民和家庭的期望就在今天了。 (《兄弟俩立战功》; 王寿图, 段吉祥; 1952-12-16)  
The time to answer the expectations of the country, the people and the families is today. (The Brothers Built up Brilliant Achievements in War; Shou tu Wang, Ji xiang Duan; 1952-12-16)
100. 一九五四年春天建社的时候，三个人就积极动员自己的家庭入社。 (《“三兰”》; 林元; 1956-1-1)  
When the cooperative was built up in the spring of 1954, the three persons had already actively mobilized their families to join it. (“San Lan”; Yuan Lin; 1956-1-1)
101. 父亲年轻时背叛了封建家庭，……。 (《路》; 亚荣; 1984-1-11)  
Father betrayed the feudal family when he was young…… (The Road; Rong Ya; 1984-1-11)
102. 叛逆了家庭潜逃到异地来，已是大逆不道，虽然因着父母情份她的学费仍旧供给，但是与表兄爱恋的消息一给家里知道以后，她的四周便都是攻击的炮火了。 (《故人东行》; 林汾; 1931-4-1) It was already seen as treason and heresy to rebel against the family and escape to another place. Even though her tuition fee was provided for the sake of her parents, she was surrounded by attacks of bombs after the family knew her love relationship with her cousin brother. (The Old Friend Went East; Fen Lin; 1931-4-1)
103. 他鼓足勇气，说服了家庭，……。 (《火葬场的音乐家金苗岭》; 吴承基; 1984-7-10)  
He summed up his courage and persuaded family …… (The Musician Miao ling Jin of Crematory; Cheng ji Wu; 1984-7-10)
104. 两家屋檐交错，相处得十分亲密。 (《正是为了爱》; 彭荣生; 1990-11-1)  
The two families have their roofs cross, and get along with each other closely. (It Is Because of Love; Rong sheng Peng; 1990-11-1)
105. ……，家庭虽然也都希望自己的子弟身体好，但常常关心得不适当。 (《在农村中应如何关心青年「长身体」》; 1954-2-16) …… Though families also hope their own children have a healthy body, they usually show their care in a wrong way. (How to Care about Young People's Body Growth in the countryside; 1954-2-16)
106. ……，使家庭和社会群众也善于关怀和爱护青年。 (《在农村中应如何关心青年「长身体」》; 1954-2-16) ……to make families and common people good at showing love and care to the young people. (How to Care about Young People's Body Growth in the countryside; 1954-2-16)
107. ……，没有爱情的家庭并不乏见。 (《爱情必须时时更新、生长、创造》; 笑冬; 1981-5-26)  
…… It is not rare to see a family without having love. (Love Needs to Refresh, Grow and Create; Dong Xiao; 1981-5-26)

108. “....., 家庭要反对的。” (《农村青年也要「身体好」》; 高鲁; 1954-1-16)  
 “..... The family will oppose it.” (*Rural Youth also Need a Healthy Body*; Lu Gao; 1954-1-16)
109. .... 方先生的膳食, 也是由各学生的家庭轮流分担的, .... (《王茂荫宅内读书记》; 朱曼华; 1937-6-10)  
 The cost of the teacher Fang's meals were also shared by students' families..... (*The Record of Studying in the House of Maoyin Wang*; Man hua Zhu; 1937-6-10)
110. 但不是每个学生的家庭都听话的, ..... (《王茂荫宅内读书记》; 朱曼华; 1937-6-10)  
 But not every student's family was obedient..... (*The Record of Studying in the House of Maoyin Wang*; Man hua Zhu; 1937-6-10)
111. 他的家庭在高利贷的盘剥和地主的压迫下, ..... (《中国现代作家小传》; 1961-1-1)  
 His family was under the exploitation of usury and the oppression of the landlord..... (*A Brief Biography of the Contemporary Writers*; 1961-1-1)
112. 因为我的家庭是在高利贷压迫之下由中农变为贫农的, ..... (《文学概论》; 李衍柱; 1983-9-1)  
 My family became poor peasant from middle peasant under the oppression of usury..... (*An Introduction of Literature*; Yan zhu Li; 1983-9-1)
113. 不论是大商家, 银行, 富家里, 以至小家庭都是这么的畏缩着。 (《占领》; 戈旦; 1930-5-10)  
 Not only big sellers, banks and rich families, but also small families flinched like this. (*Occupation*; Dan Ge; 1930-5-10)
114. 儿童家庭的经济地位、政治地位和社会地位决定着儿童受教育的条件和受教育的内容, ..... (《小学儿童心理学》; 胡德辉; 1983-6-1) The economic, political and social status of a child's family determines the condition and the content of the child's education..... (*Primary School Children Psychology*; De hui Hu; 1983-6-1)
115. 经济状况比较富裕和社会地位比较高的家庭出身的青少年, 如果不加强教育就容易产生优越感, 看不起别人, 同群众格格不入。 (《思想政治工程学》; 徐昶, 单荣范, 王传遂; 1986-6-1) If education is not strengthened, those youngsters from comparatively rich families with higher social status will easily develop a sense of superiority, and they will look down upon other people and cannot fit in. (*The Engineering of the Ideological and Political Work*; Chang Xu, Rong fan Shan, Chuan sui Wang; 1986-6-1)
116. 又仿佛小三点感觉到自己的衰老而预知这是主人最后的恩惠了, 知道不久要和这个久处的家庭长别了。 (《混沌》; 骆宾基; 1947-1-1) It seemed that the little Three Dots felt its aging, and predicted this was the last favor from the master. It knew soon it would say goodbye forever to this family it had gotten along for a long time. (*Chaos*; Bin ji Luo; 1947-1-1)
117. ...., 端着两盆维系着他的家庭命运的盆花..... (《夜来香》; 杨茂林; 1981-5-8)  
 .... (He) was holding two pots of flowers tied up with the fate of his family..... (*Evening Primrose*; Mao lin Yang; 1981-5-8)
118. ...., 一霎时有多少家庭团圆, 也有不少孤儿寡妇在啜泣。 (《朱元璋传》; 吴晗; 1965-10-1)



..... In a short moment, many families had family reunions, and there were also many orphans and widows were sobbing. (*The Biography of Yuanzhang Zhu*; Han Wu; 1965-10-1)

119. ...., 家庭成了专制政治统治的基础, 它所承担的政治—伦理功能日益突出。 (《权力的祭坛》; 崔文华; 1988-12-1) ..... Family became the basis of the autocratic political rule, and the political-ethic function undertaken by family became increasingly prominent. (*The Altar of Power*; Wen hua Cui; 1988-12-1)
120. 封建家庭不仅担负着社会消费及人口再生产的职能, 而且在物质资料的生产过程中占主导地位, ..... (《青年社会学》; 费穗宇, 穆宪; 1987-7-1) Feudal families not only shouldered up the functions of social consumption and population reproduction, but also held a dominant position in the producing process of material goods..... (*Sociology for Youth*; Sui yu Fei, Xian Mu; 1987-7-1)
121. 礼教与家风, 使封建家庭注重发挥对青年人的教育职能。 (《青年社会学》; 费穗宇, 穆宪; 1987-7-1) Feudal code of ethics and family customs made feudal families pay more attention to its education function towards young people. (*Sociology for Youth*; Sui yu Fei, Xian Mu; 1987-7-1)
122. 官僚都是由贵族家庭选出的, 西藏地方政府最高官四个噶伦, 是从十七家大贵族中选出的, 其余出于较小的贵族之家。 (《西藏社会性质的分析》; 束世; 1959-6-10) Bureaucrats were all chosen by noble families. The four Galoins who were the highest officials in the local Tibet government were chosen out of 17 big noble families, while the other bureaucrats were chosen out of smaller noble families. (*Analysis about the Nature of Tibetan Society*; Shi Shu; 1959-6-10)
123. .... “大家庭”有责任保卫它们的“社会主义成果”。 (《两大军事集团的对峙》; 1983-6-1) ..... “The Big Family” had the responsibility to protect their “socialist results”. (*Confrontation of the Two Military Group*; 1983-6-1)
124. 封建家庭在发挥教育职能方面有一整套的内容及方法, ..... (《青年社会学》; 费穗宇, 穆宪; 1987-7-1) Feudal families have a whole series of methods and contents to carry out its educational function..... (*Sociology for Youth*; Sui yu Fei, Xian Mu; 1987-7-1)
125. 于是, 大家庭具有了经济功能, 教育功能, 宗教功能等等。 (《权力的祭坛》; 崔文华; 1988-12-1) Then big families possess the economic function, education function and religion function and so on. (*The Altar of Power*; Wen hua Cui; 1988-12-1)
126. 从 1984 年开始, 军分区党委就把帮助军人家庭解决生产生活中的困难纳入民兵、预备役工作的整体规划中。 (人民日报; 1991-9-4) From 1984, the party committee of the military subarea had already put the issue of helping soldiers' families to solve difficulties in production and life into the whole working plan of the militiamen and reserve forces. (*China People's Daily*; 1991-9-4)
127. 1987 年初, 怀化地委、行署、军分区联合颁发了《关于帮助军人家庭解决生产生活困难, 做好拥军优属工作》的文件, 重申和提出了优待军人家庭的十项政策规定。 (人民日报; 1991-9-4) At the beginning of 1987, the prefectural Huaihua, Administrative Office of the recognition and the military subarea together issued the document of “Help solders' families to solve difficulties in life and production, and support the army and give preferential treatment to the families of the army man and martyrs”, and reaffirmed and proposed ten policies of preferential treatment for solders' families. (*China People's*

128. ...., 我的家, 生我养我的北京城在用力地抱着我, .....! (《我的孩子, 我的故乡》; 海岩; 1985-12-1) .....My family, the Beijing City who gave birth to me and raised me up was holding me tightly.....! (*My Child, My Hometown*; Yan Hai; 1985-12-1)
129. 心里又像是回味着父亲的**家庭**所给他的愉快一样。 (《幼年》; 骆宾基; 1982-3-1)  
In his heart, it was like recalling the pleasure given by his father's family. (*Childhood*; Bin ji Luo; 1982-3-1)
130. 父亲的**家**, 父亲不会了解她。 (《无声的歌女》; 凤子; 1946-5-1)  
Father's family and father would not understand her. (*The Silent Singing Girl*; Zi Feng; 1946-5-1)
131. 石匠的**家庭**, 生活之拮据是可想而知的, ..... (《石匠的儿子民族的号手》; 戴鹏海; 1987-3-1)  
It was easy to guess how short of money a stonecutter's family would be..... (*Son of A Stonecutter, Trumpeter of the Nation*; Peng hai Dai; 1987-3-1)
132. 全国各地已大量地涌现出了男女平等、民主和睦、团结生产的新**家庭**。 (《我国公民的基本权利和义务》; 李光灿; 1955-6-1) A lot of new families have emerged nationwide, which are sexually equal, democratic, harmonious and united in production. (*The Basic Rights and Duties of Our Citizens*; Guang can Li, 1955-6-1)
133. 像那末一个年轻的女人, 只凭着一颗追求真理的热烈的心, 便从七八千里的家乡, 一个最顽固的**家庭**里逃出来, 过着最低限度的生活, ..... (《让悲哀永留在心中》; 陈毅; 1937-5-5)  
Only with a fervent heart for the pursuit of truth, such a young woman escaped out of the most stubborn family from her hometown seven or eight kilometers far away and live the lowest level of life..... (*Let Sorrow Stay Forever in the Heart*; Yi Chen; 1937-5-5)
134. ...., 也不知拆散多少和睦的家庭。(《野女泪》; 武宝生; 1992-7-1) ..... Nobody knew how many harmonious families were separated. (*The Tears of the Wild Girl*; Bao sheng Wu; 1992-7-1)
135. 他想: 若那一阵子, 在气头上, 果真和他们分了家, 那再上哪儿去找这样一个和睦睦、人口齐全的家庭呀! (《白浪河上》; 于良志; 1959-6-1) He thought that at that time, if he really divided the family with them out of anger, where he could find such a harmonious, complete family! (*On the White Wave River*; Liang zhi Yu; 1959-6-1)
136. **家庭**是否团结和睦, 对每个家庭成员的思想情绪都有一定的影响。(《思想政治工程学》; 徐昶, 单荣范, 王传遂; 1986-6-1) Whether the family is united and harmonious has certain effects on the mood of every family member. (*The Engineering of the Ideological and Political Work*; Chang Xu, Rong fan Shan, Chuan sui Wang; 1986-6-1)
137. 少数民族多同汉族交错分布, 形成一个多民族的和睦的**大家庭**。(《中国地理》(初中上册); 1992-6-1) Minorities and the Han nation are living together intermixed, and formed a multiracial, harmonious big family. (*Chinese Geography (for middle school students)*; 1992-6-1)
138. 正如在一个和睦的**家庭**里, 既使有谁多吃两个面包或多穿两件衣服, 也不会有人认为权利不平

等一样。(《新时期意识形态问题》; 顾肇基; 1990-12-1) Just as in a harmonious family, even somebody had eaten two more pieces of bread or worn two more pieces of clothes, there would not be anybody see it as being not equal in rights. (*The Ideological Issues in the New Times*; Zhao ji Gu; 1990-12-1)

139. 因此, 在这个和睦的多子女家庭里, 他们这小兄妹的感情就显得更其亲密。(《秋天的云》; 王传珍; 1982-8-5) Therefore, in this harmonious family with many children, the relation between them as brother and little sister seemed to be much closer. (*The Clouds Of Autumn*; Chuan zhen Wang; 1982-8-5)
140. 上述三点是建立和发展社会主义民主和睦家庭的重要原则。(《法学教程》; 李思政; 1984-4-1) The three points mentioned above are important principles to establish and develop socialist democratic and harmonious families. (*A Course in Law*; Si zheng Li; 1984-4-1)
141. ...., 建立民主和睦的家庭, 提倡共产主义道德, ....(《法学教程》; 李思政; 1984-4-1) ..... Establish democratic, harmonious families and promote communist morality..... (*A Course in Law*; Si zheng Li; 1984-4-1)
142. 只有实现离婚自由, 才能保障所有男女都能建立民主和睦、团结幸福的家庭。(《法学教程》; 李思政; 1984-4-1) Only through the realization of the divorce freedom can guarantee that all men and women are able to establish democratic, harmonious, united and happy families. (*A Course in Law*; Si zheng Li; 1984-4-1)
143. 我生长在一个比较富裕的家庭里, 我的父亲曾经两次到过美国。(《肃清殖民地教育给我的影响》; 毛亦青; 1951-3-27) I grew up in a wealthy family, and my father had been to America two times. (*Eliminating the Effects of Colony Education on Me*; Yi qing Mao; 1951-3-27)
144. 维护中华民族大家庭的团结, 是每个公民的神圣职责。(《思想政治》(初中三年级全一册); 1992-6-1) To maintain the solidarity of the big family of Chinese ethnic nationalities is the sacred duty of every citizen. (*Ideological and Political Work (for the third year students in middle schools)*; 1992-6-1)
145. ...., 都是能结成美满的姻缘、缔造出幸福的家庭的。(《爱情的位置》; 刘心武; 1978-8-1) ..... (People) all can form a satisfactory marriage and create a happy family. (*The Position of Love*; Xin wu Liu; 1978-8-1)
146. 就这样, 一个幸福美满的家庭又重新组成了。(《新生命的创造者》; 雨田, 怀发; 1985-1-10) In this way, a happy and satisfactory family was made up again. (*The Creator of New Lives*; Tian yu, Fa Huai; 1985-1-10)
147. 为了重新组织一个幸福的家庭, 他们满怀信心来到婚姻介绍所。(《喜搭鹊桥》; 段大鹏, 王启发; 1981-2-1) In order to make up again a happy family, they come to the marriage agency with full confidence. (*Matchmaking*; Da peng Duan, Qi fa Wang; 1981-2-1)
148. ...., 他们可以重新组成幸福的家庭。(《编剧概论》; 马琦; 1982-11-1) ..... They can make up a happy family again. (*Introduction to Playwriting*; Qi Ma; 1982-11-1)

149. ....有一个幸福的小**家庭**, .....。 (《同波兰宇航员在一起》; 单樨; 1987-5-22) ..... (He) has a happy small family..... (*Together With Poland Astronauts*; Xi Shan; 1987-5-22)
150. 他离休没包袱, 又有个幸福**家庭**。 (《重返前线》; 原郁; 1986-11-1) He has retired without any burden, and has a happy family. (*Back to the Front*; Yu Yuan; 1986-11-1)
151. 破坏了自己的幸福**家庭**换来一堆债务、几张废纸和一个他不爱的妻子, .....。 (《痴恋》; 黄志远; 1991-12-1) The destruction of his own happy family only traded for a pile of debts, several pages of wasted paper and a wife he did not love ..... (*The Crazy Love*; Zhi yuan Huang; 1991-12-1)
152. 我和晋学贤谈起了她的**家庭**情况, 她的**家庭**是幸福的。 (《丰富的第一年》; 柳溪; 1954-7-16) Xuexian Jin and I started to talk about her family. Her family was happy. (*The Affluent First Year*; Xi Liu; 1954-7-16)
153. 他坐在这把藤椅上, 曾和张秀花一起谈过理想, 也憧憬过他们未来的幸福**家庭**。 (《一朝恩爱千古恋》; 张飙; 1983-9-1) He sat on this rattan chair and once talked about ideals with Xiuhua Zhang. He also longed for their future happy family. (*Once In Love, Love Forever*; Biao Zhang; 1983-9-1)
154. 他在这里找到了理想的伴侣, 建立了美满幸福的小**家庭**。 (《春风得意》; 刘彦林; 1983-8-1) He has found an ideal mate and established a satisfactory, happy, small family. (*The Spring Breeze Has Obtained Its Wish*; Yan lin Liu; 1983-8-1)
155. 建立民主、和睦、美满、幸福的社会主义家庭, .....。 (《思想政治工程学》; 徐昶, 单荣范, 王传遂; 1986-6-1) Establish democratic, harmonious, satisfactory and happy socialist families..... (*The Engineering of the Ideological and Political Work*; Chang Xu, Rong fan Shan, Chuan sui Wang; 1986-6-1)
156. ...., 并使双方有可能重新建立幸福美满的**家庭**。 (《法学教程》; 李思政; 1984-4-1) ..... Make the both parties have possibility to establish a satisfactory and happy family again. (*A Course in Law*; Si zheng Li; 1984-4-1)
157. 我国的婚姻家庭制度能使我国人民在婚姻自由、男女平等的基础上建立幸福**家庭**的愿望得到满足。 (《社会主义社会学》; 高平; 1991-7-1) The system of marriage and family in our country can satisfy our people's wish of establishing happy families on the basis of free marriage and equal status between men and women. (*Socialist Sociology*; Ping Gao; 1991-7-1)
158. 这种昏迷的单调使人忆起少爷的死给这**家庭**添了不少的寂寞。 (《牺牲》; 荒砂; 1942-9-1) This fainting monotony made people recall that the death of the young master of the house brought a lot of loneliness to this family. (*Sacrifice*; Sha Huang; 1942-9-1)
159. 日机常在我们头上盘绕, 无情的炸弹, 已毁灭了很多安乐的**家庭**。 (《我的家庭》; 其华; 1939-12-16) The Japanese bombers were circling over our heads, and the merciless bombs had already destroyed many peaceful and happy families. (*My Family*; Hua Qi; 1939-12-16)

160. 反映了古人对于**家庭**繁衍后代的职能的认识。 (《家庭学的缘起和演进》; 汤为本; 1986-7-1) (It) reflected the ancient people's knowledge about the reproduction function of family. (*The Origin and Evolution of Family Study*; Wei ben Tang; 1986-7-1)
161. 在喜气洋洋的**家庭**中, 是不容愁苦的脸的。 (《千万妇女中的一个呻吟者》; 爰言; 1939-3-1) In a family full of joy, a woeful face was not tolerated. (*The Groaning Woman Among the Thousands*; Yan Yuan; 1939-3-1)
162. 而且她生长在富有的**家庭**中, ..... (《归来之前》; 舒群; 1936-9-20) Moreover, she grew up in a wealthy family..... (*Before Coming Back*; Qun Shu; 1936-9-20)
163. 比方, 两个同样双生子, 如果自幼分养在贫富阶级不同的**家庭**里, 长大以后, 面貌虽然会相似, 但知识和技能等发展的方面, 两人就很不同了。 (《遗传和变遗》; 克士; 1935-8-1) For example, if the twins were raised up separately in two families which belonged to different wealth classes since childhood, though their faces might be similar after growing up, their developmental aspects like knowledge, skills and so on would be very different from each other. (*Inheritance and Variation*; Shi Ke; 1935-8-1)
164. 因着这小东西的到来, 我们那寂寞的小**家庭**, 以后将充满生气。 (《崇高的母性》; 黎烈文; 1987-2-1) Our lonely small family will be full of vitality in the future because of the arrival of the small baby. (*The Lofty Maternity*; Lie wen Li; 1987-2-1)
165. 这是在生活底层的一个工人的**家庭**, ..... (《为了和平》; 柯灵; 1956-7-1) This is a worker's family that is at the bottom of life..... (*For Peace*; Ling Ke; 1956-7-1)

## Appendix 7: The linguistic examples of FAMILY IS A PLANT metaphor in the Modern Chinese Corpus.

1. ...., 演成了一部中国**家庭**发展史。 (《权力的祭坛》; 崔文华; 1988-12-1) ..... (It) evolves into a history of development of Chinese families. (*The Altar of Power*; Wen hua Cui; 1988-12-1)
2. “**李家**欲末, **刘家**欲兴。” (《中国佛教与传统文化》; 方立天; 1988-4-1) “Family Li will be on the wane, and Family Liu will prosper.” (*Chinese Buddhism and Traditional Culture*; Li tian Fang; 1988-4-1)
3. 在扩大的**家庭**里, 婆媳有共同的利益, 如希望**家庭**发达, 望下一代成龙, 等等。 (《社会学基础》; 叶丽, 李星万; 1987-1-1) In an extended family, the mother-in-law and the wife share the common benefits, such as the wish for the flourishing of the family, the good future of the children and so on. (*Basic Sociology*; Li Ye, Xing wan Li; 1987-1-1)
4. 例如, 欲**家庭**发达, 必须全**家**各分子克勤克俭而后可。 (《社会学原理》; 孙本文; 1935-5-1) For example, if you want the family to flourish, all the family members must be industrious and thrifty. (*Principles of Sociology*; Ben wen Sun; 1935-5-1)
5. 但无论怎样, 这里生长着一个**家庭**, 大人, 小孩子..... (《处女地》; 马宁; 1930-4-15) No matter what happens, here grows a family, adult, children..... (*The Virgin Land*; Ning Ma; 1930-4-15)
6. 这是一个兴旺的**家庭**。 (《竹山篇》; 碧野; 1983-1-3) This is a prosperous family. (*The Bamboo Mountain*; Ye Bi; 1983-1-3)
7. 我把“**家**”, 看成一棵枝叶繁茂果实累累芳香浓馥类如春天的海棠树: ..... (《静》; 萧菱; 1941-4-5) I see family as a cherry-apple tree, which has luxuriant foliage, spreading branches, countless fruits and strong fragrance like spring; ..... (*Tranquility*; Ling Xiao; 1941-4-5)
8. .... 可是他要我们读书, 因为他说一个**家庭**要繁荣, 不但要耕, 而且要读, 读书是跟买田置地一样重要的。 (《枇杷》; 何家槐; 1987-2-1) ..... But he wanted us to study, because he said if a family wanted to prosper, not only the farm work but also the books were needed. To study was as important as to buy fields. (*Loquat*; Jia huai He; 1987-2-1)
9. 说他才到**我家**来, **我家**正是旺时, ..... (《老哥哥》; 臧克家; 1987-2-1) He said when he just arrived to my family, it was at the time of flourishing..... (*Elder Brother*; Ke jia Zang; 1987-2-1)
10. 你只要想像着我家中的灰尘堆积起来的情形, 便可以推出我**家庭**衰败的程度了! (《还乡》; 王以仁; 1926-3-10) You can predict out the degree of the decay of my family if you can only imagine the accumulation of the dust in my home. (*Returning to the Hometown*; Yi ren Wang; 1926-3-10)
11. 出生时**家**已衰败, 只得靠母亲做零活的收入勉强求学。 (《中国现代作家小传》; 1961-1-1) The family was already decayed when (he) was born, so he reluctantly went to school with the income coming from his mother's odd jobs. (*Biography of Modern Chinese Writers*; 1961-1-1)
12. 这种建立在社会主义公有制基础上的社会主义新**家庭**, 是有史以来**家庭**发展的最高形态。 (《中国宏观社会学》; 程继隆; 1990-11-1) This kind of socialist new family established on the basis of

- socialist public ownership is the highest form of family in its development over history. (*Chinese Macro Sociology*; Ji long Cheng; 1990-11-1)
13. 因此**家庭**发展变化的根本动因，不单纯是社会生产方式这一个因素，而是社会生产方式通过**家庭**内在矛盾性而起作用的结果。(《中国宏观社会学》；程继隆; 1990-11-1) Therefore, the root force of the development of family is not only because of the element of social production method, but also the result of the interaction of the contradictions within a family. (*Chinese Macro Sociology*; Ji long Cheng; 1990-11-1)
  14. **家庭**发展过程中两次质的飞跃，都是如此。(《中国宏观社会学》；程继隆; 1990-11-1) The two quality leaps in the development process of family all come from it. (*Chinese Macro Sociology*; Ji long Cheng; 1990-11-1)
  15. 第一次质的飞跃是由原始社会的对偶婚制**家庭**，发展成为阶级社会的片面一夫一妻制**家庭**。(《中国宏观社会学》；程继隆; 1990-11-1) The first qualitative leap is the development from the paring family in the primitive society to one-sided monogamous family in the class society. (*Chinese Macro Sociology*; Ji long Cheng; 1990-11-1)
  16. **家庭**中的经济关系和其它社会关系的变化，又直接影响和制约着**家庭**中的两性和血统关系，促使**家庭**在自身的自然关系和社会关系的矛盾运动中不断向前发展，由低级形态进入高级形态。(《中国宏观社会学》；程继隆; 1990-11-1) The changes of economic and other social relations in a family will directly influence and restrain the relations of the two sexes and blood ties within a family, and urge the family to develop forward continuously from lower form into higher form in the contradictions between its natural relations and its social relations. (*Chinese Macro Sociology*; Ji long Cheng; 1990-11-1)
  17. 19 世纪后半期，欧美的**家庭**研究受到达尔文进化论的影响，研究重点从家庭经济生活转到**家庭**的起源和进化发展史。(《家庭学的缘起和演进》；汤为本; 1986-7-1) In the latter 19<sup>th</sup> century, European family research was affected by Darwin's theory of evolution, which shifted the focus of research from the family economic life to the origin and the history of the family's evolutionary development. (*The Origin and Evolution of Family Study*; Wei ben Tang; 1986-7-1)
  18. 其实，瞿秋白出身于没落的封建士大夫**家庭**，..... (《简论瞿秋白的思想发展及其特点》；王铁仙; 1981-6-20) In face, Qiu-bai Qu came from a declined feudal literati family..... (*Brief Discussions on the Development and Characteristics of Qiubai Qu's Thought*; Tie xian Wang; 1981-6-20)
  19. 这原因就是**这个家庭**已经没落。(《简论瞿秋白的思想发展及其特点》；王铁仙; 1981-6-20) The reason was exactly because this family had already declined. (*Brief Discussions on the Development and Characteristics of Qiubai Qu's Thought*; Tie xian Wang; 1981-6-20)
  20. **家庭**的没落使他跌落到社会下层，..... (《简论瞿秋白的思想发展及其特点》；王铁仙; 1981-6-20) The declining family made him fall into the lower level of the society ..... (*Brief Discussions on the Development and Characteristics of Qiubai Qu's Thought*; Tie xian Wang; 1981-6-20)
  21. 上述三点是建立和发展社会主义民主和睦**家庭**的重要原则。(《法学教程》；李思政; 1984-4-1) The three points mentioned above are important principles to establish and develop socialist democratic and harmonious families. (*A Course in Law*; Si zheng Li; 1984-4-1)

## Appendix 8: 关于如何理解“家”这一概念的问卷调查 (A Questionnaire about the Comprehension of the Concept of FAMILY)

### 一、个人基本情况 (Personal Information)

- 1、您的性别 (Sex): A. 男 (Male) B. 女 (Female)
- 2、您学习的专业是 (Your Major in the university) : \_\_\_\_\_
- 3、您的年龄 (周岁) (Your Age) : \_\_\_\_\_
- 4、您的家乡 (Your Hometown): \_\_\_\_\_ 省(Province) \_\_\_\_\_ 市(city) \_\_\_\_\_ 区(District)/县(County) \_\_\_\_\_ 村(Village)

### 二、个人家庭基本情况 (Personal Family Information)

- 1、您有几个兄弟姐妹? (How many siblings do you have?)  
A. 0 个 (Zero) B. 1 个 (One) C. 2 个 (Two) D. 2 个以上 (More than 2)
- 2、您父亲的职业是 (What is your father's profession) : \_\_\_\_\_  
您母亲的职业是 (What is your mother's profession): \_\_\_\_\_
- 3、您所在的家庭每个月的家庭收入总额大概为 (How much is the monthly income of your family?):  
A. 低于 500 元 (Lower than 500 RMB) B. 低于 1000 元 (Lower than 1000 RMB)  
C. 低于 2000 元 (Lower than 2000 RMB) D. 2000-3000 元 (2000-3000 RMB)  
E. 3000-4000 元 (3000-4000 RMB) F. 4000-5000 元 (4000-5000 RMB)  
G. 5000 元以上 (More than 5000 RMB)
- 4、您所在的家庭的结构是 (What is the structure of your family) :  
A. 三代同堂居住在一起 (Extended family with three generations living under the same roof)  
B. 核心家庭 (Nuclear family) C. 离异或单亲家庭 (Divorced, single-parent family)  
D. 隔代家庭 (Live in the grandparents' family without parents)

### 三、个人的家庭生活和家庭教育经历 (Personal Family Life and Family Education Experience)

- 1、在您的家庭里, 父母双方谁承担更多的家庭责任, 比如挣钱养家和抚育后代?  
(Who is taking more family responsibility such as earning money and rearing the offspring in your family?)  
A. 父亲 (Father) B. 母亲 (Mother)  
C. 父亲和母亲均摊责任 (Father and mother share equally the family responsibility.)  
D. 父亲和母亲都不太在意 (Neither father nor mother cares about the family responsibility.)
- 2、在您的家庭里, 父母双方谁在更多的时候扮演“一家之主”的角色? (Who plays the role of the “Family Head” most of the time in your family?)  
A. 父亲 (Father) B. 母亲 (Mother)  
C. 父母轮流扮演这一角色。 (Father and mother take turns to be the head of the family.)  
D. 父母都不承担这一角色。 (Neither parent takes the role as the head of the family.)
- 3、多选题: 在您的成长过程中, 父母在您眼中的角色是什么? (Multiple-choice question: What are the roles played by your parents in your family life?)  
A. 管教严厉的权威领导 (Authoritative leaders with strict discipline)  
B. 可以温和沟通的朋友 (Gentle, communicative friends)  
C. 冷漠的家庭经济来源者 (Indifferent parents who are sources of family income)  
D. 最熟悉的陌生人 (The most familiar strangers)  
E. 愿意随时提供帮助的“后盾” (Main props offering help at any time)  
F. 能和您称兄道弟的“哥们”或“姐们” (Parents who are intimate to children like siblings)  
G. 必须绝对服从的长辈 (Parents who require children's absolute obedience)  
H. 无条件支持、爱您、关心您的人 (Unconditional supporters with love and care)



- I. 时常打骂的暴君 (Tyrants who often beat and scold the children)
- J. 能满足您任何要求的人 (Parents who satisfy any need of the children)
- K. 您成长和生活的榜样 (Examples for growth and life)
- L. 思想教条守旧, 无法沟通的老顽固 (Conservative, old fogies who are unable to communicate)
- M. 其他 (other) (请写明 Please identify in detail) \_\_\_\_\_
- 4、在您的家庭中, 处理家庭事务和对您进行教育时, 父母双方谁更严厉?  
(Who is stricter to you in family life and family education at your family?)
- A. 父亲 (Father) B. 母亲 (Mother)
- C. 两个人都差不多 (Both parents are almost the same)
- D. 两个人都不严厉 (Both of them are not strict)
- 5、多选题: 您的父母对您采取的家庭教育方式是什么?  
(Multiple-choice question: What modes of family education do you receive from your parents?):
- A. 严厉管束日常生活, 常有打骂和惩罚 (Strict discipline with punishment like beating and scolding)
- B. 和平讨论问题, 提供及时的帮助 (Peaceful discussions over problems with timely support)
- C. 家长权威至上, 孩子不得违抗 (Absolute authority requiring the children's total obedience)
- D. 基本满足孩子任何要求的溺爱 (Spoiling children by satisfying their needs indulgently)
- E. 不干涉, 自由放任 (No interference and allowing unrestrained freedom)
- F. 完全漠视孩子的存在 (Indifferent to the existence of children)
- G. 其他 (other) (请写明 Please identify in detail) \_\_\_\_\_
- 6、如果您将来结婚成家, 您希望:  
(What kind of family do you want to build up after your marriage?)
- A. 三代同堂住在一起 (Set up an extended family with grandparents and parents)
- B. 继续和父母住在一起 (Set up an extended family with parents)
- C. 建立核心家庭 (Set up a nuclear family)
- 7、多选题: 如果将来成为家长, 您希望在孩子面前扮演什么角色? (Multiple-choice question: What roles do you want to play in front of your child if you have become a parent?)
- A. 有绝对权威的领导 (a leader with absolute authority)
- B. 可以自由沟通想法的朋友 (a friend who can communicate freely)
- C. 孩子健康成长的启蒙者和好榜样 (an initiator and example for the children's healthy growth)
- D. 家庭经济的支柱 (the backbone of the family economy)
- E. 管教严厉的家长 (a parent with strict discipline)
- F. 贴心的知己 (an intimate confidant)
- G. 维持家庭稳定的基石 (the footstone to maintain a family's stability)
- H. 其他 (other) (请写明 Please identify in detail) \_\_\_\_\_
- 8、多选题: 如果您结婚生子, 希望对孩子进行的教育方式是什么? (Multiple-choice question: What modes of family education do you wish to adopt for your children after marriage?)
- A. 严厉管束孩子, 使之明辨是非, 惩罚其错误。(Strictly discipline the children so that they can distinguish between right and wrong and get punished for committing mistakes.)
- B. 注重道德和原则教育, 重视孩子独立性和自律性。(Pay attention to the morality education, and develop the children's sense of independence and self-discipline)
- C. 和平讨论问题, 愿意倾听和提供及时的帮助。(Discuss problems peacefully, listen to the children's ideas and offer timely help.)
- D. 维护家长的绝对权威, 不容忍孩子的违抗。(Maintain the absolute parental authority and do not tolerate the children's disobedience.)
- E. 满足孩子任何要求。(Satisfy any need of the children.)
- F. 不干涉, 自由放任。(Do not interfere, and give the children unrestrained freedom.)

G. 尊重孩子选择, 给予自由空间。(Respect the children's choices, and give them freedom.)

H. 其他 (other)\_\_\_\_\_(请写明 Please identify in detail)\_\_\_\_\_

9、在您看来, 重视家庭是不是中国人的传统? (In your opinion, is it a tradition for the Chinese people to attach great importance to the family?)

A. 是 (Yes)

B. 不是 (No)

C. 不确定 (I am not sure)

10、作为90后大学生, 您觉得现在的年轻人是否还重视家庭? (As a young college student born in the 1990s, do you feel that young people still attach great importance to the family nowadays?)

A. 是 (Yes)

B. 不是 (No)

C. 不确定 (I am not sure)

#### 四、个人对家的理解 (Personal Comprehension of Family)

1、众多歌曲、散文、电视剧等文艺作品都很好的诠释了家的概念和意义。对于您来说, 家是什么? (Many songs, essays, TV dramas and other literary or artistic works have well explained the concept of family and its meaning. What is family in your opinion? )

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2、说到“家”, 您能想到什么? 您会马上联想到哪些东西? (What comes to your mind if family is mentioned? What things do you immediately associate family with?)

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\_\_\_\_\_

3、您觉得自己对“家”的理解与您的父母相比有什么相同之处? 有什么不同之处? (In your opinion, what are the similarities and differences in the understanding of family between you and your parents?)

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4、中国现代社会商品经济对传统的家庭观念, 尤其是家庭结构、成家的理念以及对家的本质的理解有何冲击? (What impact has modern Chinese society with commodity economy brought to the understanding of the traditional conception of family, especially the comprehension about family structure, family values and the essence of family?)

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## Appendix 9: 关于“家”这一概念的采访 (The Interview about the Concept of FAMILY)

### 一、个人基本情况 (The basic personal information)

- 1、您的年龄多大? (How old are you?)
- 2、您的家乡在中国什么地方? (Where is your hometown in China?)
- 3、您的学历是什么? (What is your educational background?)
- 4、您现在的职业是什么? (What is your profession now?)
- 5、您的匈牙利语是什么水平? (What is your Hungarian language level?)

### 二、个人家庭基本情况 (The basic information of family)

- 1、您有几个兄弟姐妹? (How many siblings do you have?)
- 2、您父母二人都有工作吗? (Do both of your parents have jobs?)
- 3、您出生和成长所在的那个家庭中, 每个月所有家庭成员可支配收入总额是多少?  
(In the family where you were born and raised up, how much income does your family have every month?)
- 4、您出生和成长时期所在的家庭的结构是什么样的? (What is the structure of your family where you were born and raised up?)
- 5、您现在的婚姻状态是什么? (What is your marital status now?)
- 6、如果已婚, 您有几个孩子? (How many children do you have if you are married?)
- 7、您现在的家庭结构是什么样的? (What is the structure of your family now?)
- 8、单身的人请回答问题: 您现在的月收入是多少? (What is your monthly income in euro if you are single?)  
已婚成家的人请回答问题: 您现在家庭所有成员每个月可支配收入总额是多少?  
(How much money does your family have in total every month in euro if you are married?)

### 三、个人家庭经历 (Personal family experience)

- 1、在您的成长过程中, 父母在您眼中的角色是什么? (What roles do your parents play when you were growing up?)
- 2、在您的家庭中, 父母对您采用的教育方式是什么? (What pattern of education did your parents adopt to educate you when you were a child?)
- 3、如果您有孩子的话, 希望在孩子眼中的角色是什么? (What kind of parental roles do you want to play if you have children?)
- 4、您结婚生子后, 希望对孩子进行的教育方式是什么? (What pattern of family education would you like to adopt after marriage and having children?)

### 四、个人对家的理解 (Personal understanding of family)

- 1、诸多歌曲、散文等文艺作品很好的诠释了家的概念。那么对于您来说, 家是什么?  
(Many songs, essays, TV dramas and other literary or artistic works have well explained the concept of family and its meaning. What is family in your opinion?)
- 2、说到家, 您能想到什么? (What do you think of if family is mentioned?)

### 五、个人对家的文化理解 (Personal cultural understanding of family)

- 1、在您看来, 重视家庭是不是中国人的传统? (In your opinion, is it a tradition for the Chinese people to attach great importance to the family?)
- 2、中国重视家庭的传统的根源是什么? (What do you think is the origin of the Chinese tradition of attaching great importance to the family?)
- 3、中国现代商品经济社会对传统的家庭观念有何冲击? (What impact has modern Chinese society with commodity economy brought to the understanding of the traditional family values?)
- 4、生活在海外的中国移民以中国传统的家庭观念理解家庭吗? (Do Chinese immigrants overseas understand family with the traditional Chinese family values?)

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